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Leaders of Iberean
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LEADERS OF IBEREAN CHRISTIANITY

(50 to 650 A.D.)

Leaders of Iberean Christianity

50-650 A.D.

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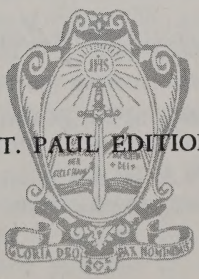
Edited by

Joseph M.F. Marique, S.J.



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FOREWORD

The following collection of prosopographical studies owe their assemblage to the kind suggestion of Professor Jacques Fontaine of the Sorbonne. It is now a good two years that he urged the General Editor to make available to a larger public the labors reprinted in the following pages. In the vast field of Christian prosopography Iberean subjects had been allocated to the Editor more than fifteen years ago. Financial difficulties and other commitments had limited the "performance" to irregular publication in the pages of Classical Folia *(formerly* Folia*). Even so, the studies were favorably reviewed in learned journals in several parts of the world and in Patrologies (cf. Altaner,* Patrology, *English translation). By putting together in easily accessible form these findings it is hoped that other scholars may be encouraged to swell the sum of solid documentation on Iberean Christianity during the first six centuries of our era. Professionals will need no detailed exposition of the relevance and bearing of these studies and* they *are primarily envisaged. Neither, does it have to be said, will the scholars whose work is here made available, be the least beneficiaries. Painful isolation from the great body of Iberean scholars has incommensurably arrested the progress of our studies. Hence, this collection with all the shortcomings of unrevised publication will still, we hope, serve a solid and enduring purpose. All those long familiar with Spanish and Portuguese historiography will instantly detect lacunae, especially in modern bibliography. Scholars of the calibre of Professor Fontaine and Professor Marrou* primipili *in the ancient Christian and Spanish field, will find much to add. This is all to the good, especially if those others who share our interests find it possible to share and stimulate our labors. All scholarship, and more than ever modern research, is a team effort. No one will deny this—least of all those who keep in mind the stupendous example of Theodor Mommsen, founder of prosopographical research and his distinguished successors in the continuing process of reediting and emending the* Prosopographia Imperii Romani. *Indeed the example of these patient and persistent scholars were the unwitting inspirers of this effort when some fifteen or more years ago the first ambitious (all TOO ambitious, as it turned out, both in the eyes of administrators and the limited number of associates) plan took*

shape in the mind of a convalescent. The way of a scholar is never an easy one, but it may be permissible to say here, in the name both of the collaborators and the General Editor that the Prosopographia Christiana Hispanica *has had more than its share of obstacles which, please God, are now overcome. In an age when political propaganda and all other diffusion has been multiplied a thousandfold over what even our fathers knew, it is ironical to have to record that it was left to the far-flung researches of a German scholar Dr. Altaner (Patrologie), and a French investigator, Professor Fontaine (Saint Isidore de Seville) to bring to light the efforts of our collaborators. In this country the work was largely ignored.*

The turn of the tide is primarily due to the open-handed generosity of the Daughters of St. Paul who have undertaken this first "mass production" of the initial studies. It is confidently hoped that, with increased knowledge of this work, made possible by a (literally) hundredfold advance in scholarly interchange, the plan initiated fifteen years ago will speed to substantial realization in the predictable future.

There remains a word of thanks to the collaborators whose researches are here reproduced for "not despairing of the republic". May their patience and confidence be repaid in some measure by the widest possible diffusion of what they undertook in circumstances that daunted fainter hearts.

Joseph M. F. Marique, S. J.
Holy Cross College

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PROSOPOGRAPHY OF POPE DAMASUS

The history of the pontificate of Damasus presents thorny problems involving especially questions of chronology and of the number and transactions of the Damasine synods. Hence it must be stressed from the very outset that this paper does not profess to solve them, but has for its purpose simply to collect the sources immediately pertinent to the life of Pope Damasus; the solution of special problems is beyond the scope of a prosopography.

In the arrangement of the sources, Jaffé's Regesta pontificum Romanorum, Leipzig, 1885, *has been followed wherever possible, but Jaffé does not present a fully detailed list of the events of Damasus' pontificate. Where other writers disagree with Jaffé on points of chronology, this has been indicated.*

The following is a list of books to which reference has most frequently be made:

Caspar, E., *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft, Vol. I, Römische Kirche und Imperium Romanum. Tübingen, 1930.*

CSEL *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum, Vienna, 1866, ff.*

Ferrua, A., *Epigrammata Damasiana, recensuit et adnotavit Antonius Ferrua, S. I. Rome, 1942.*

GCS *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Leipzig, 1897, ff.*

Hefele, C. J., *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux, Vol. I, pt. 2. Paris, 1907.*

HE *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu' à nos jours . . . sous la direction de Augustin Fliche et Victor Martin, Vol. III, De la paix constantinienne à la mort de Théodose, par J.-R. Palanque, G. Bardy, P. de Labriolle. Bloud et Gay, 1945. Especially Ch. V, Les églises occidentales vers le milieu du IVe siècle, par J.-R. Palanque, p. 205 ff.*

Jaffé, P., *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII,* Vol. I. Leipzig, 1885.

Kidd, B. J., *A history of the Church to A.D. 461, Vol. II, A.D. 313-408.* Oxford, 1922.

Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire par L. Duchesne. Paris, 1886.

Mansi, J. D., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, Vol. III.* Florence, 1759.

MPG Migne, J. P., *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca.* Paris, 1857-1866.

MPL Migne, J. P., *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina.* Paris, 1844-1864.

Rade, M., *Damasus, Bischof von Rom. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Anfänge des römischen Primats.* Freiburg i./B und Tübingen, 1882.

Shotwell, J. F., and Loomis, L. R., *The See of Peter.* New York, 1927.

Birth and Nationality:

Liber Pontificalis (ed. Duchesne, p. 212): Damasus, of Spanish nationality, the son of Antonius, reigned for eighteen years, three months, and eleven days.

For a description of the Liber Pontificalis, v. art. "Liber Pontificalis" (J. P. Kirsch), Catholic Encyclopedia, IX, 224 ff. or the more detailed study by H. Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, IX, pt. 1, 354 ff.

The nationality of Damasus is the subject of much dispute. The Liber Pontificalis contains a positive statement of birth in Spain (v. Duchesne, p. LXXVI, and Ferrua, Test. 3, adn. 1, p. 60). For the general reliability of the attributions of nationality in the Liber Pontificalis, v. Duchesne, p. LXXVII. Argument of positive character against Damasus' Spanish origin is found in the words addressed to Ambrose by the author of the Dissertatio Maximini: Certainly Italy is the province and Rome is the mother, of you yourself as well as of Damasus. *(Dissertatio Maximini contra Ambrosium, ed. F. Kauffmann, Texte u. Untersuchungen zur altgermanischen Religionsgeschichte I, Strassburg 1899, p. 55). Other arguments are taken from the circumstances of Damasus' own and his father's ecclesiastical careers, or are arguments ex silentio. Palanque (H. E. III, pp. 234-235) argues to his Roman origin from his membership in the college of deacons. For a summary of the arguments and of the*

literature on this question, v. Ferrua, Epigr. 57, adn. 1, and Caspar, p. 592.

For criticism of the data given on the duration of Damasus' pontificate, v. Ferrua, Test. 3, adn. 3, p. 60.

FATHER'S ECCLESIASTICAL CAREER:

Damasus, *Epigr. 57, Titulus Archivorum (Ferrua, p. 210): A:* After departing from this place, my father advanced and became clerk, lector, deacon, and priest; from this point on, he advanced in office, because he had progressed in virtuous deeds: *or B:* Beginning his career in this place, my father advanced and became clerk, lector, deacon, and priest; from this point on, he advanced in office, because he had progressed in virtuous deeds.

Two interpretations of these lines are possible: A, if the building was, to begin with, the home of Damasus' family, and was first converted into archives by Damasus, or B, if it was already a church and archives before the beginning of the fourth century. V. Ferrua, loc. cit., adn. 1, p. 210.

MOTHER—LAURENTIA:

Damasus, *Epigr. 10, Epitaphius Matris (Ferrua, p. 105):* Here Laurentia, the mother of Damasus, has laid her limbs to rest; she was upon earth one hundred years, all but . . .; she lived sixty years in God after her marriage vows, and saw, in the fourth generation, the things which . . .

The fragmentary state of this inscription is illustrated by the photograph in Ferrua, loc. cit., p. 106.

SISTER—IRENE:

Damasus, *Epigr. 11, Epitaphius Sororis (Ferrua, p. 107):* In this tomb are now resting limbs consecrated to God; here is the sister of Damasus—Irene, if you ask her name. She had vowed herself to Christ, so long as she lived, so that a virgin's chastity commended her to God. Her life had not yet passed through twenty winters. . . . He [*my father*] who was then a witness of our love, dear sister, had given you to me as an honored trust when he left the world.

355 *(Jaffé, p. 34):* Deacon of Pope Liberius, to whom he and the rest of the Roman clergy swear fidelity. He accompanies Liberius for a short way on his journey into exile, but soon returns to the city. The source for this information (which is bitterly hostile to Damasus) implies that, contrary to his oath, he later accepted the anti-Pope Felix.

Preface to the Libellus Precum Faustini et Marcellini, chs. 1 and 2 (Collectio Avellana, no. 1, ed. Guenther, Vienna, 1885, CSEL, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 and 2): In the time of the Emperor Constantius, the son of Constantine, a cruel persecution of the Christians was stirred up by the wicked Arian heretics, through the efforts of Constantius. . . . But Liberius, the bishop of Rome, and Eusebius of Vercelli and Lucifer of Cagliari and Hilary of Poitiers refused to vote [*against Athanasius*]. These men, therefore, were sent into exile for having remained loyal to their faith. Damasus, the deacon of Liberius, made a pretense of setting forth with him, but taking flight during the journey, he returned to Rome, because he was corrupted by ambition. But on that day on which Liberius was setting out for exile, all the clergy, that is, the priests and the archdeacon Felix and the deacon Damasus himself and all the officials of the church unanimously, in the presence of the Roman people, declared under oath that, during the lifetime of Liberius, they would by no means accept another Pope. But the clergy wrongfully and most improperly, incurring the gravest guilt of perjury, accepted as their bishop the archdeacon Felix when he was consecrated in the place of Liberius.

Sept., 366 *(Jaffé, p. 37):* Damasus is elected Pope in Lucina by partisans of Felix. Ursinus is elected Pope in the basilica of Julius and consecrated by Paul, bishop of Tibur. Partisans of Damasus attack the Ursinians.

Preface to the Libellus Precum, ch. 5 *(CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 2):* On September 24, in the consulship of Gratian and Dagalaifus, Liberius was removed from the concerns of mankind. Then the priests and the deacons Ursinus, Amantius and Lupus, together with the holy people who had kept faith with Liberius when he was held in exile, began to advance to the basilica of Julius and demanded that the deacon Ursinus be consecrated Pope in place of Liberius; but the oath-breakers, in Lucina,

asked for Damasus as their bishop in place of Felix. Paul, bishop of Tibur consecrated Ursinus. When Damasus, who had always been ambitious for the office of bishop, learned this, he aroused all the charioteers and the ignorant mob with his bribes and, armed with clubs, they broke into the basilica of Julius and raged for three days with much killing of the faithful.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae, XXVII, 3, 12-13 (ed. C. U. Clark, Berlin, 1910-1915, p. 424):* Damasus and Ursinus, being eager beyond normal human measure to seize the see of a bishop, fought most bitterly to the point of a decision by wounds and death, and when the number of partisans of both men increased, Viventius, who did not have the strength to calm nor to check them, withdrew to his villa outside the city. And in the conflict Damasus prevailed, thanks to the pressure of the party that favored him. [*What follows is assigned by Jaffé (p. 37) to Oct. 26, 366.*] It is a well-known fact that in the basilica of Sicininus, where there is an assembly-place of the Christian sect, there were found in one single day 137 bodies of the slain, and that the populace was for a long time enraged and was afterwards calmed only with difficulty.

Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica II, 10 (MPL, Vol. XXI, Col. 521):* Damasus, by right of succession, had received the bishopric in the city of Rome after Liberius. A certain Ursinus, a deacon of the same church, ill-brooking that Damasus should be set over him, flew into such a pitch of madness as, after winning over a certain rather ignorant and countrified bishop and gathering together a mob of unruly and rebellious individuals, to obtain by violence his election as bishop, although the laws and public order and tradition were defied in the process. As a result of this deed, such great discord, or better, so grave a war, arose, according as the populace defended one or the other, that the places of worship were filled with human blood.

Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica, IV, 29 (MPG, Vol. LXVII, Col. 542):* When the Emperor Valentinian was in profoundest peace, showing ill-will to no religious sect, Damasus, at Rome, undertook the government of the Church, following Liberius. Under him, there arose for the Roman Church a serious disturbance, coming about from this cause: A certain Ursinus, a deacon of the same Church, was named among others when the election of a bishop was being discussed. When he saw Damasus

chosen in preference to himself, disturbed because he had been disappointed of his hope, he began to hold assemblies apart from the Church, and persuaded certain undistinguished bishops to consecrate him secretly. And so he was consecrated, not in church, but in a secret place of the basilica which is called the basilica of Sicinius [*sic*]. This event stirred up very grave conflict among the citizens. They disagreed, however, not on a point of belief, but only on this question: Which of those men ought rightfully to possess the episcopal see. . . . On this account, frequent brawls and mob fights occurred, so that very many perished in this struggle.

Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica, VI, 23 (MPG, Vol. LXVII, Col. 1347):* During that same period, Damasus, after the death of Liberius, undertook the government of the Roman see. In this election [to the Papacy] a certain deacon named Ursinus, who had been proposed by the votes of some individuals, could not endure the defeat which he suffered, but after having been secretly consecrated by certain bishops of slight importance, he tried to disunite the Church and to break it apart into separate factions. And so the people were divided, some preferring this man, and others, Damasus, as their bishop. As a natural result, the populace was inflamed to wrangling and discord of such grave proportions that the trouble broke out even into bloodshed and violence, until the City Prefect, after torturing many clerics as well as laymen, finally put a stop to the attempts of Ursinus [to take possession of the see of Rome].

Prosper of Aquitaine, *Chronicum Integrum, (MPL, Vol. LI, Col. 581):* Emperors: Valentinian and Valens. Consuls: Gratian and Dagalaifus. . . . At this time there was a second schism, caused by Ursicinus [*sic!*] the anti-Pope, who had been excommunicated by a synod which assembled in Rome; it [*the schism*] lasted for six months, in the year of Our Lord 369 [*this from the margin of the book*].

For the days of the election and consecration of Damasus, v. Kidd, p. 231, and Rade, pp. 11, 12, and 161, who believe that Damasus was elected on Sept. 24, and consecrated on Oct. 1. This does not take into account the notice at the end of the life of Liberius in the Liber Pontificalis (p. 208): Et cessavit episcopatus dies VI. Ferrua (Test. 3, adn. 3, p. 60), however, accepts it, and consequently gives different days for these events.

It is difficult to assign to the precise dates the various riots reported under this item and that of Oct. 26, 366 by sources other than the preface to the Libellus Precum. Much depends on whether the basilica of Sicininus is to be identified with the basilica of Julius (cf. Rade, p. 14; Ferrua, Test. 9, adn. 1, p. 64) or with the basilica of Liberius, following Jaffé, p. 37, and Duchesne's note to Liber Pontificalis, p. 208, 1. 5. See also Ferrua "La Basilica Sicinini," S. Maria Maggiore, Civiltà Cattolica (LXXXIX), 1938, pt. 3, p. 53 ff.

Oct. 1, 366 *(Jaffé, p. 37; cf. also note to preceding item):* Damasus is consecrated Pope in the Lateran Basilica:

Preface to the Libellus Precum, ch. 6 (CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 2): After seven days, with all the oath-breakers and the gladiators, whom he had seduced by bribery, he held the Lateran Basilica and was consecrated bishop there.

Jerome, *Chronicon ad ann. 366 (ed. R. Helm, Leipzig, 1926, GCS, Vol. XXIV, p. 244):* Damasus is consecrated as the thirty-fifth bishop of the Roman Church. . . .

Prosper of Aquitaine, *Chronicum Integrum (MPL, Vol. LI, Col. 581):* Emperors: Valentinian and Valens. Consuls: Gratian and Dagalaiphus. . . . Damasus is consecrated bishop of the Roman Church for eighteen years.

October, 366 *(Date implied in the source, since the incident is related as having occurred between the consecration of Damasus, and the riot of October 26):* Damasus causes the exile of Ursinus:

Preface to the Libellus Precum, ch. 6 (CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 3): . . . and buying over the judge of the city, Viventius, and the commissioner in charge of the grain supply, Julianus, he caused Ursinus, a man worthy of respect, who had been elected Pope before him, to be sent into exile with the deacons Amantius and Lupus.

October 26, 366 *(Date given in the source):* Attempted exile of Ursinian priests; attack and massacre of Ursinians in the Basilica of Liberius:

Preface to the Libellus Precum, ch. 6 (CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 3): When this [*the exile of Ursinus*] had taken place, Da-

masus began to belabor with clubs and violence of various kinds the Roman people, who refused to take part in his processions. And he tried to drive from the city seven priests whom he had had arrested on the strength of his office. But the faithful people, by their resistance, rescued the same priests and brought them without delay to the Basilica of Liberius. Then Damasus, together with the oath-breakers, summoned the gladiators and the charioteers and the grave-diggers and all the clergy to come with axes, swords, and clubs, and he laid siege to the Basilica at the second hour of the day on October 26 in the consulship of Gratian and Dagalaifus and began a fierce battle. For by breaking down the doors and kindling a fire they sought to force an entrance and break in; some of his retinue even dismantled the roof of the Basilica and killed the faithful people with the tiles. Then all the followers of Damasus, rushing into the Basilica, killed 160 of the people, men and women alike; they also wounded very many, a large number of whom died. But no one of the faction of Damasus was killed.

Jerome, *Chronicon ad ann. 366 (GCS, XXIV, p. 244):* . . . not long after [the consecration of Damasus] Ursinus V with his followers broke into the Basilica of Sicininus, and as the people of Damasus' faction met them there in force, a most cruel slaughter of both sexes occurred. [*But see note to Sept. 366.*]

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae, XXVII, 3, 13: v. above, under Sept. 366.*

Oct. 29, 366 *(Date implied in source):* Series of popular demonstrations against Damasus:

Preface to the Libellus Precum, chs. 8 and 9 (CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 3): Now after three days, the holy people, gathering together in one place, began to repeat the commands of the Lord against him [*Damasus*] . . . often the same people assembled in the Basilica of Liberius, used to cry out, saying "Christian Emperor, nothing is hidden from you. Let all the bishops come to Rome. Let the case be pleaded. The present war is the fifth which Damasus has made. [*See Caspar, p. 198.*] Away with murderers from the chair of Peter!" So the people of God pleaded with many prayers for the bishops to hold an assembly, in order that they might strike down with a just sentence this individual who was defiled with such impiety, and of

whom the noble ladies were so fond that he was called the ladies' ear-tickler.

366-367 *(Jaffé, p. 37, gives this as the first Damasine synod):*
Synod condemns Liberius:

Vita S. Eusebii Presbyteri Romani (Baluze, Miscellanea, Paris, 1679, Vol. II, p. 142): After the death of Liberius, Damasus was raised up [to the Papacy], and he gave a public expression of condemnation against Liberius, having convoked a synod together with twenty-eight bishops and twenty-five priests.

There is much difference of opinion on the number, the dates, and the transactions of the early synods of Pope Damasus. Hefele (Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 980) simply states that after the exile of Ursinus in Nov. 367 Damasus convened several councils concerning which we know very little. Caspar (p. 592, note to p. 199 ff.) says that, in general, positive evidence for Roman synods for the period from 368 to 378 is not given by the sources. He protests against assumption of their occurrence on the strength of indirect evidence used with excessive freedom, and calls for greater restraint in the making of such inferences, pending a special study of the problem.

Mansi (Vol. III, Cols. 447 and 448) quotes "ex libello synodico" the account of two Roman Synods ascribed to the earliest years of Damasus' pontificate, and Pagius' criticism of the passage. Pagius believes that the first of the two synods condemned, not Auxentius as the libellus states, but Ursacius and Valens. Mansi himself, in a further comment, identifies this first synod with the one which condemned Liberius, pointing out that it would be logical to condemn all three for their prominence in connection with the Third Council of Sirmium. See Kidd, p. 154 ff.

Under the same year-heading (366-367), Jaffé reports the so-called "anniversary synod." As such, it could not possibly have occurred in 366, and it is most often referred to 368. See item below for Autumn, 368.

Mansi (Vol. III, Col. 449-450) says that Baluze attributed to the year 367 a synod which cleared Damasus of the charge of adultery mentioned in the Liber Pontificalis, (p. 212):

Through a malicious accusation he was charged with adultery,

and having convoked a synod, he was cleared by forty-four bishops who also condemned the deacons Concordius and Calistus, his accusers, and expelled them from the church.

But see, on this point, the notes of Duchesne, p. 214, and of Ferrua, Test. 3, adn. 12, p. 61.

366-367 *(Jaffé, p. 37):* Damasus' partisans drive the priest Macarius from Rome.

Libellus Precum Faustini et Marcellini, ch. 78 ff. (Collectio Avellana, no. 2, CSEL, Vol. XXXV, pp. 28-30): The priest Macarius suffered much irreverence. . . . He was a priest in that same city, Rome, a man of wonderful austerity. . . . At that same time a bitter persecution had raised itself against us through the hostility of that eminent archbishop Damasus, so that the faithful priests were not allowed freely to assemble gatherings of the holy people during the day to worship Christ. . . . The same holy priest Macarius was holding vigils in a certain house, calling together the brethren, in order that even by night the holy people might strengthen their faith. . . . The clerics of Damasus . . . rushed in with officials . . . and arresting the priest . . . they dragged him over the stones so that a dangerous wound was made in his hip, and on the next day they arraigned him before a judge. . . . But the priest . . . refused communion with the perjurer, and so was sent into exile, and when he was in Ostia, he died because of the severity of his wound.

Rade, p. 45, gives no exact date for this incident but implies that it occurred considerably later than Jaffé indicates. Caspar, p. 216 suggests that Macarius could have been prosecuted as an offender against the rescripts "Iure mansuetudinis nostrae" and "Est istud divinitus institutum" (Collectio Avellana, nos. 11 and 12 CSEL, Vol. XXXV, pp. 52-54).

366-367 *(Jaffé, p. 37):* Damasus unsuccessfully seeks the intervention of the judge Bassus against the Luciferians.

But the Libellus precum, ch. 84 (CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 30, presented to the Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius in 383-384, speaks of this as having occurred "recently." Hence it must have occurred far later than Jaffé thinks. V. Ferrua, Test. 13, adn. 2, p. 68. For the passage, see below, year 383.

Shortly before Sept. 15, 367 *(Date implied in Preface to Libellus Precum, ch. 11; see below, entry for Sept. 15, 367):* Permission is granted to Ursinus and his companions to return to Rome, remaining as long as they cause no disturbance to the peace:

Rescript "Licet iusta" (Collectio Avellana, no. 5, CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 48): Greetings to our dear Praetextatus . . . we show mercy to all those who have recently been condemned to banishment on account of the disturbances of some time ago. . . . Therefore your worthy Excellency will free from the burden of our sentence all those who are subject to the penalty for that offense.

Concerning Damasus and Praetextatus, Jerome, Contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum, ch. 8 (MPL, Vol. XXIII, Col. 555) says: . . . Praetextatus . . . used to say in jest to blessed Damasus the Pope: "Make me bishop of the city of Rome, and I will become a Christian then and there."

Sept. 15, 367 *(for date, v. source, below):* Ursinus and his companions return to Rome; Damasus causes the exile of Ursinus:

Preface to the Libellus Precum, ch. 11 (CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 4): Then Ursinus, with the deacons Amantius and Lupus, returned to the city on Sept. 15, in the consulship of Lupicinus and Jovinus. Damasus, realizing that he was guilty of such grave crimes and stricken with no slight fear, bribed the whole palace not to reveal his deeds to the Emperor. The Emperor, not knowing what Damasus had done, issued a decree to the effect that Ursinus should be sent away into exile and that this unholy strife should disturb the people no longer. Then the bishop Ursinus, a holy and guiltless man, taking thought for the welfare of the people, delivered himself into the hands of his enemies and on the sixteenth of November, in accordance with the Emperor's orders, went willingly into exile.

Between Nov. 16, 367, and Jan. 12, 368 *(for date, v. Ferrua, Test. 15, adn. 2, p. 69. Rade, p. 17 and p. 161 places it simply in 368):* Basilica of Sicininus is returned to Damasus:

Rescript "Dissensionis auctore" (Collectio Avellana, no. 6, CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 49): Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian to

Praetextatus, the City Prefect. Now that the instigator of discord has been removed, the entire cause of strife must be laid to rest, lest, if any cause of trouble remains, it be useless to have gotten rid of him who has kindled dissension. . . . Therefore, your Excellency will look into the petition of the defenders of the church of the city of Rome and of Damasus, the bishop of the Holy Law, in which city it is said that only one of the churches destined for the observance of Catholic worship is still held by the dissenters . . . and will order that it be opened to Damasus. . . .

For the "defenders of the Roman Church," v. Caspar, p. 198, and Palanque in H. E., Vol. III, p. 233.

Jan. 12, 368 *(for date, see below):* Another rescript expels the companions of Ursinus from the vicinity of Rome:

Rescript "Ea nobis" (Collectio Avellana, no. 7, CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 49): The same Augusti [*Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian*] to Praetextatus, the City Prefect. The companions and supporters of Ursinus, whom your worthy Excellency has thought it necessary to remove from the midst [*of the residents of Rome*] in the interests of the peace of the eternal city, are to be allowed to dwell without restraint wherever they choose, with the sole exception of Rome, because we are solicitous that law and order be maintained there . . . Trier, Jan. 12.

For explanations of why two orders of banishment—the rescript "Ea nobis" and the decree under which Ursinus left Rome on Nov. 16, 367 were issued, cf. Rade, p. 16; Caspar, p. 199; Ferrua, Test. 16, adn. 1, p. 69; and Palanque, H. E., Vol. III, p. 233. Palanque thinks that the first decree was directed primarily against Ursinus, and the second against his companions. Rade suggests that the "Ea nobis" might be official confirmation of an earlier action undertaken by Praetextatus on his own authority, but that Ursinus' departure "in accordance with the Emperor's orders" is an obstacle to this interpretation. Caspar and Ferrua see no difficulty in holding that the City Prefect first banished the trouble makers, then informed the Emperors, who endorsed the action in the Jan. 12 rescript.

368 *(for the date, cf. Rade, p. 18 and p. 161; Ferrua, Test. 17, adn. 2, p. 70, suggests the middle of the year):* Ursinians hold services in the cemeteries of the martyrs; Damasus suppresses one such gathering:

Preface to the Libellus Precum, ch 12 (CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 4): But the people, fearing God and wearied by many persecutions, feared neither the judges nor even Damasus himself, that murderer and instigator of wickedness, but, without the clergy, they held the stations through the cemeteries of the martyrs. When many of the faithful had assembled at St. Agnes for this purpose, Damasus together with his followers rushed in with arms and cut down many in a brutal massacre.

Autumn, 368 *(for the date, cf. Rade, p. 29, and Ferrua, Test. 17, adn. 2, p. 70: October, 368; Caspar, p. 199: September, 368; for dissenting opinions and for other details, see below):* So-called "anniversary synod" refuses to condemn Ursinus:

Preface to the Libellus Precum, ch. 13 (CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 4): This atrocity [*massacre in St. Agnes*] in particular displeased the bishops of Italy. For when he [*Damasus*] had solemnly invited them to his anniversary and some of them had assembled, he sought to induce them with bribery and persuasive arguments to pronounce sentence against the holy Ursinus. They replied "We have come to an anniversary, not to condemn a man unheard."

On the date: Jaffé reports this synod under the heading 366-367 (see above, under that date); Shotwell and Loomis p. 603 assign it to 367.

Palanque, H. E., Vol. III, p. 234, attributes to this anniversary synod the condemnation of Auxentius (for which see below, under the heading 369-374), provided that the information given in the Preface to the Libellus Precum is correct. Caspar, p. 199, implies that Ursacius and Valens, as well as Auxentius, were condemned by this synod. Ferrua, Test. 17, adn. 2, p. 70, believes that petitions were sent by the assembly to the City Prefect Olybrius and the Vicar Aginatius, which resulted in orders from the Emperors forbidding the Ursinians to meet for worship within the twentieth milestone from the city. For the text of the rescripts Tu quidem and Omnem his see Collectio Avellana, nos. 8 and 9 (CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 50).

2 Iberian

368? 369? *(Jaffé, p. 37: 368; Shotwell and Loomis, p. 604: 368 or 369; Kidd, p. 257: 369, adding in footnote: "the first of the Damasine synods"; for opinion of Caspar, see notes to previous item):* Roman Synod condemns Ursacius and Valens; Auxentius still escapes justice:

Athanasius, *Epistula Episcoporum Aegypti et Libyae nonaginta ad honoratissimos in Africa episcopos, ch. 1 (MPG, Vol. XXVI, Paris, 1887, Col. 1031):* Enough has been written about the true and orthodox faith by our beloved Damasus, a fellow-priest and bishop of the great city of Rome, and by so many bishops who have assembled together with him, as well as by other synods held in Gaul and Italy. . . .

Athanasius, *Ad Epictetum Episcopum Corinthi contra Haereticos Epistola, ch. 1 (MPG, Vol. XXVI, col. 1052):* Therefore when various synods were held at this time in Gaul, the Spains, and in the great city of Rome, all who participated in them, as if moved by one and the same spirit, have struck down with the common verdict of condemnation those who still secretly favor the Arian heresy—namely, Auxentius of Milan, Ursacius, Valens, and Gaius of Pannonia. And what is more, they sent letters everywhere (since the aforementioned were inventing the names of different synods) to the effect that henceforth no synod should be named in the Catholic Church except the Council of Nicaea alone which stands as a trophy of victory over every heresy and particularly over Arianism, which was the main cause of its convocation.

Ibid., ch. 10, col. 1046: And so, when it happened that we had assembled, we sent a letter to our dear Damasus, the bishop of the great city of Rome about Auxentius, who has broken into the church of Milan, and whose deeds we related [to the Pope], saying that he was not only an adherent of the Arian heresy, but was also guilty of many crimes, which he had committed together with Gregory, his partner in evil-doing. And [we further said] that we were astonished that he has not yet been deposed and excommunicated. We also gave thanks to that devout man, and to those others who had assembled in the city of Rome, because they had preserved harmony in the Catholic Church by expelling Ursacius and Valens and the others who shared their views.

Rade, p. 56 ff., defends a literal interpretation of the sen-

tence: "We were astonished that he [Auxentius] has not yet been deposed and excommunicated." Caspar, pp. 200 and 593, maintains that Auxentius had already been condemned before Athanasius wrote this letter, and that Athanasius was protesting against failure to effectively dislodge him from his see.

369-371 *(for the date, cf. Rade, p. 19 ff.: 369; Ferrua, Test. 10, adn. 2, p. 64: 369-370; Caspar, p. 203, and Palanque, Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 233: 371)*: the severity of the prefect Maximinus in conducting trials arouses resentment against Damasus:

Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica, II, 10 (MPL, Vol. XXI, Col. 521):* This was turned to popular odium against a good and innocent priest, by the partisan spirit of the prefect Maximinus, a harsh man, who was so bitter that the conduct of the case even descended to the torturing of the clergy. But God, the proclaimer of innocence, was a present help to Damasus, and the punishment was turned back upon the heads of those who had laid the snare.

Various occasions of Maximinus' display of brutality have been suggested. Rade, p. 19 ff. believes that Maximinus undertook the prosecution of Damasus on charges preferred by the partisans of Ursinus, who resorted to intrigue after violence had failed, and that Damasus was exonerated through the intercession of Evagrius with Valentinian, to which Jerome refers in Epistula I ad Innocentium Presbyterum, ch. 5 (ed. J. Hilberg, Vienna, 1910, CSEL, Vol. LIV, p. 8): Now we have reached the name of our dear friend Evagrius. . . . Who can celebrate with fitting praise how, thanks to his vigilance, Auxentius who was burdening the see of Milan was laid to rest almost before his death and how the bishop of Rome, who had been almost hopelessly entangled in the snares of a hostile conspiracy, not only triumphed over his enemies but refrained from harming those who survived their defeat? *Caspar, p. 203 ff and Palanque, Histaire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 233 ff. connects the reference to Maximinus with the investigation of the charges of murder preferred by Isaac in 371; the intervention of Valentinian was presumably due to the intercession of Evagrius. Ferrua, Test. 10, adn. 2, p. 64, contends that Maximinus displayed his ferocity in suppressing the riots of 369-70 which finally resulted in the*

banishment of Ursinus and his companions to Gaul (cf. the rescript "Est istud divinitus institutum," Collectio Avellana, no. 12, CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 53). Damasus would then be hated because Maximinus would be regarded as his ally. In Ferrua's opinion, Evagrius' intercession on behalf of Damasus occurred late in 373 (v. Test. 8, adn. 1, p. 63 and Test. 21, adn. 3, p. 74).

369-374 *(Jaffé, p. 37):* Synod: reports condemnation of Auxentius, upholds the faith of Nicaea as the criterion of orthodoxy, declares the Council of Rimini invalid. Issues synodal letter to the bishops of Illyricum, which is subsequently sent to the Oriental bishops. *(For the date, cf. Rade, p. 56: 369 or 370; Hefele, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 980: probably 369; Kidd, p. 257: Dec., 371, adding in footnote: "the second Damasine synod"; Shotwell and Loomis, p. 604: in or about 370; Caspar, p. 199: Autumn, 368; Palanque, Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 234: 368).*

The synodal letter exists in several forms, all but one of which are addressed to the Illyrian bishops. For the relationship of the various recensions and the most important variant readings, cf. Rade, p. 52, note 2. See also Caspar, p. 593, note to p. 199 ff.

The addresses:

(1) Greek translation in Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica, VI, 23 (MPG, Vol. LXVII, Col. 1350):* Damasus, Valerius, and the other bishops assembled in a sacred Council at Rome, to their dear brethren, the bishops in Illyricum, salvation in the Lord.

(2) Greek translation in Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica, II, 17 (ed. Parmentier, Leipzig, 1911, GCS, Vol. XIX, p. 147): as above, but* Valerianus, *not* Valerius.

(3) Cassiodorus, *Historia tripartita, V, 29 (MPL, Vol. LXIX, Paris, 18, Col. 1006 and Mansi, Vol. III, 443):* Damasus and the other bishops assembled in Rome, to . . . [*as in (1)*].

(4) Latin version, "Etsi nobis persuasum est" *(Mansi, Vol. III, p. 455): as in (1).*

(5) Latin version, "Confidimus quidem" addressed to Orientals *(Mansi, Vol. III, p. 459):* Damasus, Valerianus, Vitalianus, Aufidius, Pacianus [*Pacian, bishop of Barcelona?*]

Victor, Priscus, Innocentius, Abundius, Theudulus, and the others who have assembled in the city of Rome to hear the case of Auxentius and to expound the faith, to the Catholic bishops throughout the East, salvation in the Lord. *To this last letter is added the subscription:* I, Sabinus, a deacon of Milan, presents this copy taken from the original, an authentic copy.

Synodal letter, "Credimus sanctam" (Mansi, Vol. III, p. 443 ff. Hefele treats this as the original letter (Histoire des conciles, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 980, n. 3): [*We are confident that the faith which you yourselves hold and teach is completely orthodox.*] But through the report of our brethren in Gaul and Venetia, we have learned that there are some who favor heresy. [*The duty of a bishop is to oppose the dangerous effects of ignorance and credulity, and to hold fast to the beliefs of our fathers.*] Clearly, it is on this charge in particular, that Auxentius of Milan has been condemned. [*There should be uniformity of belief, in accordance with the teachings of the Council of Nicaea, which we summarize here. There have been several attempts, particularly at Rimini, to undo the work of this Council.*] . . . but . . . from the very outset . . . those very men who had been forced to deny or disown [*this Nicene faith*] at Rimini, have so far altered their position as to admit that their assent had been dishonestly obtained by another deceitful maneuver certainly because they did not understand that this was opposed to the belief formulated by the fathers at Nicaea. Furthermore, no counter argument can be drawn from the large numbers of those who convened at Rimini, for it is well-known that neither the bishop of Rome, whose decision above all they should have awaited, nor Vincent, who for so many years blamelessly fulfilled the duties of a bishop [*cf. Rade, p. 55*], nor others gave their assent to such notions, . . . Hence your Lordships perceive that that one faith alone, which was based upon Apostolic authority at Nicaea, should be held with unswerving loyalty, and that those Orientals who acknowledge that they are Catholics should do the same, and the Westerners should glory [*in this faith*]. We are confident also that those who weakly persist in their vain efforts should soon be separated from communion with us, and be deprived of the title of bishop, so that their people, freed from the false notions of these men, may breathe freely again. . . . [*We exhort you to remain firm in the orthodox faith, and to write to us.*]

The notice of Auxentius' condemnation is expressed in widely varying ways: Theodoret: Therefore a special condemnation of Auxentius of Milan on this charge has been added; *Sozomen:* Therefore special notice has been given that Auxentius of Milan especially has been condemned on this charge; *The "Etsi nobis" version:* For this reason it has been decided by our body that Auxentius of Milan should be singled out for condemnation; *The "Confidimus quidem"* version: Hence it is on this charge in particular that they have at last decreed that Auxentius of Milan should be condemned.

Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica II, 21 (GCS, Vol. XIX, p. 147):* But this formula [*of Rimini*] was indignantly repudiated by all the champions of truth, and especially the Westerners, as is proven by their writings to the Illyrians. Now the leader of those who wrote [*the synodal letter*] was Damasus, a man outstanding for countless virtues, who, after Liberius, had succeeded to the throne of the Roman church. Ninety bishops from Italy and Galatia which is now called Gaul, assembled at Rome, cooperated with him in the writing of the letter.

Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica VI, 23 (MPG, Vol. LXVII, Col. 1347):* As far as the teaching of faith is concerned, neither the Romans, nor any others in the regions of the West were at variance with each other at that time, nor had they been at variance earlier, but all supported the decision of the Nicene synod and adored the Trinity as being of equal dignity and power. There was one exception—Auxentius, who, presiding then over the church of Milan, was plotting a change, together with a certain few, and was trying to establish the notions of Arius in defiance of the general agreement of the Western bishops, and strove to come to an understanding with those who, according to a dispute just recently arisen, believed that the Son and the Holy Ghost were dissimilar to the Father. But when the bishops of Gaul and Venetia had reported that the same attempt was being made by certain others, the bishops from many provinces, assembling at Rome shortly afterwards, issued a decree of excommunication against Auxentius and those who agreed with him, and they likewise decreed that the faith which had been handed down by the Council of Nicaea should remain firm and unshaken, since those decrees which had, contrary to that faith, been passed by the Synod of Rimini were null and void, be-

cause neither the Roman bishop nor other bishops had given their consent to those transactions, and because, furthermore, many of those who had attended that synod had censured its decrees. For proof of these transactions and decisions [*of the Roman Synod*] stands the letter of Damascus which he, together with the bishops who had then assembled in Rome, wrote to the bishops of Illyricum. It reads as follows: *Then the text of the synodal letter is quoted.*

July 29, 370: Valentinian addresses to Damasus a rescript restricting the rights of inheritance of the clergy.

Constitutio Valentiniani Imperatoris ad Damasum Papam (MPL, Vol. XIII, Paris, 1845, col. 575): The Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian to Damasus, bishop of the city of Rome. Ecclesiastics, or those among the ecclesiastics who wish to be known by the name of "continent" are not to enter the houses of widows or orphan girls who are wards; but they shall be removed by the secular courts if the relatives or kinsmen of the women think it well, thereafter, to bring an accusation against them. And we further decree that the aforesaid clerics are to have no power to receive anything, even through will and testament, from the generosity of that woman to whom they have attached themselves under the pretext of religion. Everything which has been given to them by any of these women is to be ineffectual, so that they shall have no power to receive anything either by gift or by bequest through a third person. And if, after the warning issued by our law, it shall happen that women have left anything to them either by gift, or by testament, the public treasury shall take possession of it. But if a cleric receives a legacy from the will of those women to the inheritance of whose property they are permitted to succeed under the civil law or through privilege granted by edict, they may take possession of it as relatives. Read in the Roman churches *(MS. Coislin.:* read in the Roman church, July 30) July 29, Valentiniano et Valente tertio Augustis consulibus.

371 (*Jaffé does not treat the negotiations of St. Basil with the West. In the dating of these items, we follow the system of the Benedictine editors of the Letters of St. Basil, MPG Vol.*

XXXII, where the date of each letter appears in its heading. Cavallera, Le Schisme d'Antioche, Paris, 1905 shows, on pp. 187-8 a table giving the chronology of several editors of these letters): Basil, Bishop of Caesarea prepares a mission to Damasus to request his support of the orthodox churches in the East. He requests that, if the Pope is unable to visit the East in person, he send a delegation to observe their plight:

Basil, *Epistula LXVI Athanasio episcopo Alexandriae (MPG Vol. XXXII, col. 423)*: I have long been aware . . . that one channel of assistance would be opened to our churches, if the Western bishops were to act in concert with us. For if they were willing to display in behalf of those regions under our jurisdiction that energy which they directed against one or two individuals in the West in whom they detected false beliefs, then perhaps our common interests might be in some measure advanced. . . . Leave behind to mankind, most venerable Father, a memorial worthy of your life, . . . send to the Western bishops some men from your holy Church who are fortified with sound doctrine; describe to them the troubles which are weighing us down; point out to them a method of assisting us. . . .

Basil, *Epistula LXVIII Meletio episcopo Antiochiae (MPG Vol. XXXII, col. 427):* But, to be brief, the plan of action which prevailed was as follows: that that same brother of ours, Dorotheus, should start out for Rome and should bestir some representatives from Italy to visit us, traveling by sea in order to slip past anyone who would bar their way. . . . So, if your Prudence sees in this plan as much merit as I do, be so good as to write letters and to draw up a memorandum about the points that he [*Dorotheus*] should discuss and the individuals whom he should address. And, in order that your letters may have a certain impressiveness, by all means sign the names of all who are in agreement with us, even though they are not at hand to sign for themselves.

Basil, *Epistula LXIX Athanasio, episcopo Alexandriae (MPG Vol. XXXII, col. 430)*: I have sent to your Piety our brother Dorotheus. He is a deacon of the church over which the most reverend Meletius presides, and is a man inspired with a praiseworthy zeal for orthodoxy and eager to see the churches at

peace. He has come to you in order that, through following your advice, he may at last realize what he has been striving for and desiring. You will, I am sure, welcome him, look upon him with peaceful eyes and send him on his way to his goal, strengthened by the help of your prayers and supplied with letters to facilitate his journey, and even accompanied by some of the good men who are associated with you. It has seemed to me worth while to write to the Bishop of Rome, asking that he look into our case and advise us, and since it is difficult for certain men to be sent from there through the general decree of a Synod, I have requested him to undertake this task of his own initiative, choosing men capable of enduring the hardships of the journey, capable also, by reason of their gentle but firm dispositions, of reforming those of us who have been led astray, saying what is suitable and appropriate to the situation and bringing with them whatever measures have been enacted since the Council of Rimini to revoke the decisions that were taken there under duress; and they ought to come here without publicity and unknown to anyone, and should travel by sea, in order that they may actually have arrived before the enemies of peace suspect their departure.

A further request is made by some who are here—and, in my opinion, it is a necessary one—that they [*the Romans*] stamp out the heresy of Marcellus, since it is deadly and harmful and opposed to sound belief. For in all the letters which they have written up to the present time, while they have never ceased to denounce Arius in unmistakeable terms . . . they seem, on the other hand, to have directed no censure against Marcellus. . . . Therefore the present crisis demands, as is just, that mention be made of him, [*Marcellus*] as well, in order that those who seek an opportunity for division will find none, as long as those who are sound in their faith are united to your Holiness, and those who waver in their allegiance to the true faith are exposed before all men; in this way we may henceforth recognize those who are in agreement with us, and no longer will we be without a means of distinguishing between friend and foe, like soldiers fighting a battle by night.

We entreat you only to send off the said deacon by the first ship that sails in order that a certain portion of our petition may be carried out at least next year. There is one thing more which you will understand even before I have said it: you will take

care, I am sure, that when, God willing, they arrive, they do not cause schisms in the churches, but rather use every means to bring into harmony all those whose faith is the same, even though they find some individuals who have certain personal grounds for disagreement. . . . For the zeal of the ambassadors should be directed to a single goal: that everything else should be subordinated to peace, and that care should be taken of the Church of Antioch before all others, in order that the part of it which is sound may not be weakened by personalities.

Almost all the East, most honored Father (and by the East I mean all the lands extending from Illyricum to Egypt), is being rocked by a fierce and raging gale. . . . We hope for the sole relief from these troubles, the visit of your Compassion: your unparalleled charity has always been a consolation to us in times gone by, and when the joyful report was spread abroad that we were to receive a visit from you, our spirits rallied for a short while. But, having been disappointed of our hope . . . we have come to entreat you through our letters to . . . send some whose belief is the same as ours, in order that they may reconcile dissenters, restore the churches of God to harmony or at least may point out to you more plainly the instigators of disorder, so that in the future it may be clear to you with whom it is proper to have communion. What we ask is by no means an innovation, but a custom observed by others in the past who were blessed and dear to God, and especially by you. . . . Therefore, unless you arouse yourselves immediately to help us, in a short time you will find no one to whom you may stretch out your hand, for we shall all have been brought under the sway of heresy.

The negotiations between the East and West in the pontificate of Damasus add fresh complications to a chronological picture that is already sufficiently intricate. The dating of the letters of St. Basil which deal with these events is uncertain. Palanque, HE Vol. III, p. 266, n. 2 summarizes the attempts which have been made to solve the problem. See also the valuable note in Caspar, p. 595. In dating the two letters just cited, Caspar, p. 220, Kidd, p. 262 follow the Benedictine chronology; Rade, p. 73, places the mission of Dorotheus late in 371 or in the beginning of 372.

Did Dorotheus actually reach Rome and deliver his letter to the Pope? This view is supported by Kidd, p. 262, who says

that Dorotheus was present at the Roman Synod of December 371, and that this Synod issued the "Confidimus quidem" letter which was brought to the East by Sabinus who accompanied Dorotheus on his return. Rade, p. 82, together with Cavallera, Le Schisme, p. 147, n. 2, believes that Dorotheus arrived in Rome, but Caspar, p. 222, and Palanque, p. 267, n. 4, maintain that the mission got no farther than Alexandria. Caspar, pointing out (as does Rade) that Basil's Ep. LXX has no salutation, concludes that it was simply an outline or preliminary sketch (Entwurf) and was never actually sent.

372 (before Easter) The East receives the letters of the Roman Synod which condemned Auxentius:

Basil, *Ep. LXXXIX Meletio Episcopo Antiochiae (MPG Vol. XXXII, col. 470)*:

When we had met the deacon Sabinus whom they had sent, we wrote to the Illyrians and to the bishops of Italy and Gaul and certain others who had privately sent letters to us.

Basil, *Ep. XC, Sanctissimis fratribus ac episcopis Occidentalibus (MPG Vol. XXXII, col. 471 ff.):* God . . . has just now permitted us in the midst of many afflictions to find a certain degree of comfort in the letters which our most revered Father, Athanasius received from you and sent on to us. . . . The Lord has further increased our joy through our son the most devout deacon Sabinus, who nourished our souls by his full account of your admirable conduct, and when he has become familiar with the situation here as an eyewitness, he will inform you of it clearly. We give our assent to all the measures which your Lordships have taken in accordance with the canons and we praise your apostolic zeal for orthodoxy.

Kidd, p. 262, and Rade, p. 86, follow the dating of the Benedictine editors closely; Caspar, p. 223, placing the homeward journey of Sabinus in the beginning of 372, implies a slightly earlier arrival than the rest. Palanque, p. 268, does not fix the arrival of Sabinus, but sets his departure toward the end of 372 or in the spring of 373. See also footnote 6 to the same page.

373 Rome rejects the letters of the Eastern Bishops which Sabinus has brought on his return journey, and demands that an embassy be sent:

Basil, *Ep. CXXXVIII, Eusebio episcopo Samosatorum (MPG Vol. XXXII, col. 579)*: My other troubles I cannot put into writing: but here are the details which it is safe even to mention. The priest Evagrius, the son of Pompeianus of Antioch, who once left with blessed Eusebius for the West, has now returned from Rome, with the demand that we send to them a letter which is to contain, word for word, precisely what they [*the Westerners*] have written to us. He has brought back to us our own letters, on the grounds that it did not please certain individuals there who were more exacting than the others. They further stipulate that we are to send to them without delay an embassy composed of trustworthy men, so that they may have an impressive reason for visiting us.

On the date: Rade, p. 90: 373; Kidd, p. 263: August, 373; Caspar, p. 246: 374; Palanque, p. 269: Summer, 374, but ibid., note 1: "La date du retour d'Evagrius est également incertaine. On peut hésiter entre 373 et 374." Ferrua, Test. 21, Adn. 3, says that Evagrius was in Milan on behalf of Damasus at the close of 373; and (Test. 8, Adn. 1) he did not remain in Italy beyond the middle of 374.

373 Basil prepares another mission to the West. He warns the Westerners against granting their communion too freely:

Basil, *Ep. CXXIX, Meletio, episcopo Antiochiae (MPG Vol. XXXII, col. 559)*: But our brother Sanctissimus has been with you for a long while, and has made known to your Excellency what he is seeking. Therefore, if a letter to the Westerners seems necessary to you, please be so kind as to send what you have composed to us. . . . As far as I am concerned, I have nothing to write to the Westerners, since I find nothing in the memorandum which supplies matter or cause for a letter . . . *(col. 562)*: But I think that one point remains, practically unmentioned, and provides reason for a letter, namely, that we should exhort them not to receive indiscriminately into their communion those who come from the East, but rather to choose one party first, and to accept others on the recommendation of those with whom they are in communion, and not to give approval to any and every man who subscribes to the formula of faith, pretending to hold to the orthodox teaching. For if they do, they will find them-

selves in communion with men who are in opposition to each other, who often express themselves in identical words, to be sure, but who contradict each other just as much as those who are most bitterly at odds.

On the date: Kidd, p. 263, places the visit of Sanctissimus to Syria and Armenia Minor in 374. Caspar, p. 227, favors 375.

374 *(Jaffé, p. 38)*. Damasus sends letters of consolation and communion to Peter of Alexandria:

Peter of Alexandria, *Letter, quoted by Theodoret, Historia Ecclesiastica, IV, 22 (ed. Parmentier, Leipzig, 1911, GCS Vol. XL, p. 258)*: Shortly afterwards, in their company [*in the company of the monks who had been condemned by Magnus*] a deacon who had been sent by our beloved Damasus, Bishop of Rome, to bring us letters of consolation and communion was led by lictors through the public streets with his hands bound behind him, like some notorious criminal.

Date: Kidd, p. 250, says that Peter remained with Damasus in Rome from 373-8. The date of Peter's flight to Rome is placed by some in the year 373, and by others in 374. For the arguments in support of either contention, see Mansi, III, p. 491.

374 Peter of Alexandria takes refuge in Rome.

Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica, IV, 22 (MPG Vol. LXVII, col. 510)*:

And when he [*Peter of Alexandria*] had escaped from prison, he hastened to Damasus, the Bishop of the city of Rome.

374-377 Jerome requests Damasus' advice on theological terminology, and asks which one of the claimants to the See of Antioch he should support. He proclaims his solidarity with Damasus:

Jerome, *Ep. XV ad Damasum (ed. J. Hilberg, Vienna, 1910, CSEL Vol. LIV, p. 61)*: Following Christ before all other leaders, I unite in communion with your Beatitude, that is, with the Chair of Peter. . . . Therefore, I beseech your Beatitude, through the Crucified, the Salvation of the world, through the Consub-

stantial Trinity, that you give me, in your letters, the authority to use or to refrain from using the term "hypostases." And in order that the remoteness of the place in which I live may not lead the bearers of your letters astray, please direct what you write to the priest Evagrius, who is well known to you, indicating at the same time, with whom in Antioch I ought to be in communion. For "The Peasantry" [*the party of Meletius*] who are associated with the heretics of Tarsus, have no dearer ambition than to preach the three hypostases in the old sense, supported by the authority of communion with you.

Jerome, *Ep. XVI, ad Damasum (ibid., p. 69):* Meanwhile, my cry is: "Whoever is united to the Chair of Peter, is my bishop." Meletius, Vitalis, and Paulinus declare that they are your adherents: I could believe this, if only one of them said so; but as it is, either two or all of them are lying. Therefore, I beseech your Beatitude to point out to me in your letters with whom in Syria I should be in communion.

Jerome, *Ep. XVII ad Marcum Presbyterum Chalcide (ibid., p. 71)*: I am called a heretic when I profess my belief in the consubstantial Trinity; I am charged with the blasphemy of Sabellianism when with unwearied voice I proclaim three "subsistentes" true, complete and perfect Persons. If it were Arians who were defaming me, it would be quite normal; but if it is orthodox believers who find fault with such a creed, then, either they have ceased to be orthodox, or, if they will, let them brand me as a heretic in company with the West, in company with Egypt. That is, with Damasus and Peter.

Different writers ascribe different dates to these letters. Palanque, p. 273: "au commencement de son séjour à Antioche" hence, in 374 or 375; Rade, p. 96, note 2, assigns Letter XV to 375 and Letter XVI to the close of that year or the beginning of the next; Kidd, p. 321, implies 376; MPL Vol. XXII, col. 355 and 358 attributes Letter XV to late 376, and Letter XVI to late 376 or early 377. Devreesse, Le Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'Eglise jusqu'à la Conquête Arabe, Paris, Gabalda et Cie., 1945, p. 32, note 3, dates Letter XV in 376. Cavallera, Saint Jérôme, Paris-Louvain, 1922, II, 16, places Letters XV-XVII in 376-377.

375 Basil hears that Damasus has granted his communion to Paulinus:

Basil, *Ep. CCXIV Terentio Comiti (MPG Vol. XXXII, col. 786)*: But another report has reached us: that you are staying at Antioch and are transacting with the highest officials there the business which is in hand. In addition to this, we have also heard that certain brothers who support Paulinus are discussing with you the matter of entering into communion with us, that is, with those who are on the side of the man of God, Bishop Meletius. I hear likewise that these brothers are circulating letters from the Westerners which ascribe to themselves the episcopal power of the Church of Antioch. But they are nullifying the work of Meletius, a totally admirable bishop of the true Church of God. I am not surprised at this. For they [*the Westerners*] are totally ignorant of conditions here, while these brethren [*of the party of Paulinus*] although they appear to be well-informed, are motivated by factional spirit rather than zeal for the truth in stating their case. . . .

Basil, *Ep. CCXVI, Meletio Antiochiae episcopo (MPG Vol. XXXII, col. 791)*: [*I have been on a journey.*] However, after I returned, seriously incapacitated as a result of the rains and the hardships, I was immediately greeted by a letter which informed me that Paulinus had received from the West certain communications serving as a sort of token of his episcopal office and that the leaders of his party are highly elated over this event and are boasting of the letters. They even propose a formula of faith and are willing to enter into communion with our Church on this condition. [*I have written to Terentius to warn him of their duplicity, for they are trying to win him over.*]

On the date: There is, in general, agreement with the Benedictine chronology. Cf. Rade, p. 69; Kidd, p. 264; Caspar, p. 227-8, and Palanque, p. 270-271, imply the date 375.

One of the letters mentioned by St. Basil has been identified with Damasus' letter to Paulinus which begins "Per filium meum Vitalem." See Rade, p. 97-98 (possible identity); Kidd, p. 264; Caspar, p. 226. But Jaffé, p. 38, places the letter in 380. This is not the first of the series, the previous letter (Caspar) or letters (Palanque, p. 271, notes 2 and 3) being lost.

Damasus, *Ep. III Dilectissimo fratri Paulino (MPL Vol.*

XIII, col. 356): Damasus, to his dearly beloved brother Paulinus. Through my son Vitalis I had dispatched letters to you, in which I said that I entrusted everything to your decision and judgment; and in a message carried by the priest Petronius, I had briefly pointed out that, just as he was on the point of leaving, I was disturbed from a certain quarter. Hence, in order that you may have no scruple on this point, and that, with praiseworthy caution you may discriminate among those who perhaps wish to unite with the Church, we have sent a profession of faith not so much for the benefit of you, who are joined in communion with it as for those who by signing it, show their intention of entering into communion with you, dearly beloved brother,—that is, of entering into communion with us through you. Therefore, if my son, the aforesaid Vitalis, and those who are with him, wish to attach themselves to you, they must first sign that declaration of belief which was established at Nicaea by the blessed decision of the Fathers. Next, because no one can apply a remedy to wounds that are yet to come, we must uproot that heresy which is said to have arisen afterwards in the East, that is, men must declare their belief that Wisdom Himself, the Word, the Son of God assumed a human body, a human soul, a human mind, that is, the whole Adam, and, to express myself more precisely, all our old man except sin. . . . But if anyone should say, that the Word dwelt in the flesh of the Lord in place of a human mind, such a man the Catholic Church anathematizes; so, too, it anathematizes those who maintain that there were in the Saviour two Sons, that is, one prior to the Incarnation and another after His assumption of flesh from the Virgin, and say that the Son of God was not the same before and after. If a man is willing to subscribe to this letter just as he has previously subscribed to the canons of the Church with which you are familiar, and to the Nicene Creed, you ought to receive him without any hesitation. . . .

In certain collections of canons, this letter is followed by a "Confessio fidei," consisting, in part, of a series of anathemas directed against various forms of heresy. For the text of the Confessio, see MPL, Vol. XIII, col. 357; cf. Mansi, Vol. III, col. 482 and 486, and a Greek translation in Theodoret, Historia Ecclesiastica V, 11 (GCS, Vol. XL, p. 297). For a discussion of the origin and chronology of these anathemas, see Palanque,

p. 271, n. 4, and p. 273, n. 3, and also Rade, p. 97, n. 1. Mansi, Vol. III, p. 466, says that these anathemas were issued by a Roman Synod which he places in 377, and were approved by a Synod which met at Antioch in 378.

For the character of Vitalis, see Palanque, p. 270, and Caspar, p. 226. On the skill with which the adherents of Apollinaris concealed their real teachings and long disarmed the suspicions of the orthodox, two passages from Gregory of Nazianzen are of interest:

Gregory of Nazianzen, *Epistola CII ad Cledonium (MPG, Vol. XXXVII, col. 195)*: But that we may not be accused of having once approved and now rejected the statement of belief of Vitalis, a man most dear to us, which he put into writing at the request of the blessed Damasus, the Bishop of Rome, we shall say a few words on this point. . . .

Ibid., col. 199: So, because those expressions are consistent with orthodox belief, if they are rightly understood, but are not free from heresy if they are improperly explained, is it strange if at the prompting of our own good will, we accepted these words in a pious sense, while others are annoyed and exasperated? . . . And this also is the reason, I think, why Damasus, when he had become better informed later on, as soon as he had learned that they persisted in their original interpretations, cut them off from communion with the Church. . . .

375 Basil advises Dorotheus concerning his projected journey to Rome, but has misgivings as to its success.

Basil, *Ep. CCXV, Dorotheo presbytero (MPG, Vol. XXXII, col. 790)*: Concerning the journey to Rome,—I do not understand how it happens that no one has told your Prudence that it is utterly impossible to accomplish it in winter, since the region extending from Constantinople to our boundaries is filled with enemies. However, if you are to travel by sea, there will be time, provided that our most devout brother, Bishop Gregory, does not refuse to sail and to undertake an embassy dealing with questions of this type. For I see no one who could start out with him, and I am well aware that he is completely inexperienced in the practical affairs of the Church. Even so, a meeting between him and some mild and well-disposed man would secure good will and be of the highest value. But what advancement for our

common good could we gain through a conference between one party who is arrogant and sits on a lofty throne and will not, for that reason, listen to those who show him the truth which lies at his very feet, and another whose whole personality recoils from servile flattery?

On the date: Opinion, in general, endorses the date set by the Benedictine editors. Cf. Caspar, p. 228; Rade, p. 103; Kidd omits reference to this letter, but, p. 264, has placed the events of Ep. CCXVI in autumn, 375. Palanque, likewise, gives no specific reference to it, but assigns to 373-374 the return of Evagrius, to which it is subsequent, and to 374-375 the journey of Dorotheus to Rome (p. 269, n. 1, p. 270, n. 2).

376 Basil calls Damasus "a proud man"; he intends to address a blunt letter to the West.

Basil, *Ep. CCXXXIX, Eusebio episcopo Samosatarum (MPG, Vol. XXXII, col. 894):* [*Sanctissimus is now collecting letters and signatures in the East, and will perhaps accompany Dorotheus when he leaves for Rome.*] I have no clear notion as to what you should write or in what way you can exchange ideas with those who are writing; but if you can quickly find anyone who can come to us, do not hesitate to express your views. I am inclined to appropriate that speech of Diomede: "Would that you had not besought him," he says, "for he is a proud man." . . . They have neither knowledge of the truth, nor the wish to learn it, but, preoccupied with groundless suspicions, they are acting now just as they acted before in the case of Marcellus, when they denounced those who told them the truth, but only strengthened the heresy by their very own actions. I myself intended to write to their leader a special letter in addition to our general one, saying nothing of ecclesiastical matters, except to hint very subtly that they have no accurate knowledge of the situation among us, and that they are not adopting a course which will procure it.

Date: Kidd, p. 264: between the death of Valentinian (Nov. 17, 375), and the Spring of 376; Rade, p. 103: early in 376; Palanque, p. 270 and n. 1, makes it roughly contemporary with Ep. CCXLIII, which he is inclined to place in 375.

376 (after Easter). Dorotheus and Sanctissimus depart for the West, bringing letters to the Westerners and to the bishops of Italy and Gaul, which request that they bring the plight of the Eastern Church to the attention of the Western Emperor, or at least, that they visit the East.

Basil, *Ep. CCXLII, Occidentalibus (MPG, Vol. XXXII, col. 899)*: [*We are enduring our misfortunes courageously, but are disappointed that so far, you have failed to console us.*] For it is not mere proximity of place, but rather a union of spirits that . . . joins us with you, beloved brethren. How then does it happen that no letter of encouragement . . . has been forthcoming? For this is the thirteenth year since the heretics took up against us than war in which more calamities have befallen the Churches that have been related since first the Gospel of Christ was announced. [*These acts of persecution are summarized.*] *(col. 902):* How can words clearly convey these sufferings to you. . . . So we beg of you now at this late hour . . . to send men who will recall to our minds the rewards stored up for those who endure suffering for Christ.

Basil, *Ep. CCXLIII, Ad episcopos Italos et Gallos (MPG, Vol. XXXII, col. 901)*: Basil, Bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia, to the Bishops of Italy and Gaul, his most devout and dearly beloved brethren and fellow servants of the same mind . . . *(col. 903)*: Already at other times in the past we have cried out appealing to your charity . . . but—no doubt because our punishment was not yet complete—it was not granted to you to be aroused to help us. For we seek this favor above all, that through the effort of your piety, the chaos here will be brought to the attention of the Emperor of your region; or, if you find that troublesome, at least let some envoys come from among you to visit and sympathize with us in our sufferings. . . . [*The disasters which have beset the Eastern Churches are summarized, with the warning that the West may eventually suffer from similar blows.*] *(col. 910)*: For these reasons many of us should have gone without delay to your Dignity, and each one should have reported the situation of his own diocese. But as matters now stand,—and this should be a proof to you of the disorders in the midst of which we live,—we have no opportunity to undertake the journey. For if anyone, for even the briefest interval, remained away from his Church, he would be deserting his people

and handing them over to their enemies who are lying in wait for them. But, by the grace of God, we have sent one, in place of many, Dorotheus our most devout and dearly beloved brother and fellow priest, who can supply, through oral report, whatever details are missing from our letters, since he has carefully followed the entire course of events and is a defender of the orthodox faith. Receive him in peace and send him back to us without delay, to bring to us the good news of your eagerness to aid your brethren.

On the date of Ep. CCXLII: Kidd, p. 263, assigns the mission of Dorotheus and Sanctissimus to 374; Caspar does not mention this letter, but, p. 225, he assigns Ep. CCXLIII to 374. Rade, p. 105, points to the words "jam annus tertius decimus" as an indisputable proof that the letter is to be dated 376.

Kidd and Caspar attribute Ep. CCXLIII likewise to 374, and Rade to 376. Palanque, p. 270, n. 1, who has not discussed the previous letter, says that this second missive must have been written before the death of Valentinian, Nov. 19, 375. "On peut hésiter pour sa date entre 374 et 375." But he favors the latter year.

Damasus replies to Basil, stating in great detail the orthodox position on the subject of the Trinity, and warning against irregular consecrations of bishops. Letter "Ea gratia" (MPL Vol. XIII, col. 358): [*A statement of Trinitarian doctrine in its most familiar form. Damasus avoids all subtleties and reduces his answer to terms which no orthodox Catholic could challenge.*] Furthermore, we advise you to take care that the observance of Church discipline is not neglected in the ordinations of priests or other clergy, and that those who have failed in these duties (praevaricatoribus) are not easily admitted into communion, with the result that men are encouraged to violate the law of the Church in other respects. We felt obliged to mention these things on our own initiative. But, concerning the removal of your complains, dearly beloved brother, our brother the priest Dorotheus will not neglect to give a full account by word of mouth, nor, as he will testify, have efforts on our part been wanting.

All place this as a reply to the first joint mission of Dorotheus and Sanctissimus but the date assigned to the mission varies

considerably. Kidd, p. 264, believes that the document was issued by the third Synod of Damasus, which he places in 374. Rade, p. 162, favors 376. Palanque, p. 271, implies that the letter was written between 375 (the beginning of the first mission of Dorotheus and Sanctissimus) and 377, the start of their last journey. Caspar lowers the termini to 374 and 375.

For notes on the textual difficulties, see Rade, p. 107, n. 1, who also criticizes Hefele, and Caspar, p. 595, Anmerkung zu S. 226 ff.

377 (Spring) Basil sends, by Dorotheus and Sanctissimus, a plea to the Westerners to condemn, by name, those individuals who are tainted with heresy; among these are Eustathius of Sebaste, Apollinarius, and Paulinus of Antioch.

Basil, *Ep. CCLXIII, Occidentalibus (MPG, Vol. XXXII, col. 975)*: . . . Although our wounds remain unhealed, still we take a certain consolation in having at hand physicians who, if they could find the time, are capable of applying a speedy cure to our ailments. Therefore once again, through our beloved messengers, we send you our greetings and we exhort you not to delay to visit us . . . do you at least write to us, as you ought, to console the suffering and to strengthen the fainthearted. . . . Now that shameless heresy of the Arians, . . . remains obstinate in its falsehood, and inflicts no slight degree of harm upon us, for they flaunt their ungodliness before all men. Clothed as sheep, they display a feigned gentleness and affability . . . and because it is from our midst that they have arisen, they encounter no difficulty in leading the more gullible to destruction. We ask your Diligence to make them known to all the churches of the East, so that they may either set foot upon the straight path and live without guile among us, or, if they persist stubbornly in their error, their harm may be restricted to themselves alone, and they may not be able to spread the contagion among their neighbors through indiscriminate intercourse.

Furthermore, these individuals must be mentioned by name, so that you yourselves may know those who foment disturbances among us; you must expose them to our churches. For when we make pronouncements against them we arouse the suspicions of many men, as though our small esteem and contempt toward

these heretics was prompted solely by certain personal grudges. You, on the other hand, enjoy in the eyes of the people prestige which is all the greater in proportion to the long distance at which you dwell from them, and what is more, the grace of God helps you to come to the aid of those who are hard pressed. If therefore several of you, at one and the same time, would unanimously pronounce the same decree clearly, everyone would be persuaded to accept it without dispute, because of the very numbers of those taking part in the action. [*Basil lodges specific complaints against Eustathius of Sebaste and Apollinaris.*] It is for you to say whether Paulinus is liable to any censure regarding his consecration. But we, for our part, view with sorrow the fact that he leans toward the teachings of Marcellus, and admits the latter's followers without discrimination into his communion. . . . If the task of writing to all the Eastern Churches does not discommode you, you will acknowledge that those who vitiate the faith in this way should be admitted into communion provided they mend their ways; but if they have made up their minds to cleave stubbornly to their innovations, they are to be cut off from the churches. We are the last to forget that it is we who should take this step,—sitting together in council with your Prudence and weighing these questions in concert with you. But because time does not permit this, and delay is fatal, while the harm caused by the Arians drives its roots ever deeper, we have been obliged to send these brethren, so that, by relating to you whatever details have escaped inclusion in written documents, they may enkindle your zeal and you may bring to the churches of God the help for which we long.

377 Basil expresses his dismay that Meletius and Eusebius [*of Samosata*] have been accused, in the presence of Damasus and Peter of Alexandria, of being Arians.

Basil, *Ep. 266 Petro episcopo Alexandriae (MPG, Vol. XXII, col. 994)*: On his [*Dorotheus'*] return he told me that he had conversed with your Excellency in the presence of the most reverend Bishop Damasus, and he caused me grief when he said that our most devout brethren and fellow ministers of the Gospel Meletius and Eusebius were considered to be among the Arians.

On the date: The letter is dated 377 by the Benedictines. The event is placed in 377 by Rade, pp. 113, 163, and by Palanque, p. 273; in the year 376-77 by Kidd, pp. 264-265. The following fragments are believed by some to be connected with this mission:

Fragment *"Illud sane miramur" (MPL, Vol. XIII, col. 352, and Mansi, Vol. III, p. 461)*: We have no power whatsoever of there are said to be in our midst certain individuals whose understanding of the doctrine of the Trinity is, to all appearances, orthodox, yet, concerning the mystery of our Redemption they are in the dark about its excellences and the Scriptures, and their beliefs are incorrect. For it is claimed that they say that our Lord and Saviour took from the Virgin Mary an imperfect humanity, that is, human nature deprived of a human mind. [*The rest of the fragment develops the thesis, much more familiar in the following century, that Christ redeemed the whole man.*]

Fragment *"Non nobis quidquam" (MPL, Vol. XIII, col. 353, and Mansi, Vol. III, p. 461):* We have no power whatsoever of bringing to you, through our efforts, even some slight comfort; yet it is possible for you to derive great consolation from realizing the purity of our faith and rejoicing that your beliefs are in harmony with ours, and from living in the confident assurance (as you ought) that we are solicitous for the members of Christ's Body. But because we maintain uncorrupted under all circumstances the teaching of the Council of Nicaea, without juggling and without altering their meaning, by no means do we place the Holy Spirit in a separate category: but we adore Him as perfect in all respects—in power, honor, majesty, and divinity with the Father and the Son. . . .

Caspar, p. 229, separates these fragments, which follow one another in the MSS and are preceded by the "Ea gratia" fragment. According to him "Illud sane miramur" was an answer to the mission of Dorotheus and Sanctissimus which occurred some time after 375 and which was marked by the altercation between Dorotheus and Peter of Alexandria. The "Non nobis" (p. 231) was issued by a Roman Synod of 378 in reply to Basil's Ep. 263.

Rade, pp. 113 and 163, believes that both were issued by a Roman Synod of 377, at which Dorotheus was present and quarreled with Peter. Kidd (p. 264) differs from Rade only in plac-

ing the synod in 376-7 and styling it the "fourth" Roman Synod. According to Palanque (p. 273) the "Non nobis" was issued by the Council of 377, while the "Illud sane" (ibid., n. 3) which, he says, is difficult to date precisely, may be contemporary with this synod and may even have been issued by it.

Merenda (MPL, Vol. VIII, 353, note b), says that the "Illud sane" must belong to 376 or 377, since the aspect of Apollinaris' teaching which it attacks had scarcely been propagated in 375.

Mansi, Vol. III, p. 459, n. 2, observes that these fragments together with the "Ea gratia" seem to belong to the Roman Synod of 378 or 379 which Sozomen, VI, 25, mentions.

On the text of these fragments, see Palanque, p. 283, n. 5, and Caspar, p. 595, Anmerkung zu S. 226.

The question of Damasus' synods—their number, their dates and their transactions—is as complicated in this period of his pontificate as it was in the earlier. The conclusions of various modern historians differ widely, as the following summary will indicate:

Jaffé (p. 38):

374—Synod condemns Eustathius and Apollinaris. Documents in fragmentary state (Mansi, Vol. III, p. 481; MPL Vol. XIII, col. 348).

376—Synod condemns Apollinaris and Timotheus (inferred from the Pope's subsequent statement to the Eastern bishops [Mansi, Vol. III, p. 427; MPL Vol. XIII, col. 370, Theodoret, Historia Ecclesiastica, V, 10] expressing surprise that they seek condemnation of these heretics who have already been censured).

380—Synod requests Gratian and Valentinian II to recognize the Pope's jurisdiction over bishops (Mansi, Vol. III, p. 624; MPL Vol. XIII, col. 575) and issues a condemnation of various heresies.

Hefele:

374 (I, pt. 2, p. 981) Synod, resulting from Dorotheus' mission, renews the Nicene faith and condemns a variety of heresies. (Mansi, Vol. III, p. 477 ff.)

376 (ibid., p. 984) Synod, attended by Peter of Alexandria, condemns Apollinarian heresy and deposes Apollinaris and his followers. (Mansi, Vol. III, p. 485).

380 (ibid., p. 985) Synod issues petition to Gratian and Valen-

tinian II, and the series of 24 anathemas which are found in MPL Vol. XIII, col. 558, Mansi, Vol. III, p. 486, and Theodoret, Historia Ecclesiastica, V, 9.

Rade:

377 (p. 113 ff.)—Synod condemns Apollinarian heresy. To this synod belong the fragments "Illud sane miramur" and "Non nobis quidquam." Peter of Alexandria is present and disputes with Dorotheus.

Late 378 or early 379 (p. 33 ff.) Synod pronounces Damasus innocent of Isaac's charges, writes petition to Gratian and Valentinian.

(The long series of anathemas, in Rade's opinion (p. 131 ff.) belongs to a Roman synod of 381).

Kidd:

Autumn, 374 (p. 264)—Third Damasine Synod, issues "Ea gratia."

376 or 377 (p. 264)—Fourth Synod issued "Illud sane" and "Non nobis." Altercation between Dorotheus and Peter of Alexandria.

Early 380 (p. 271)—Synod issues 24 Anathemas (Mansi, Vol. III, p. 482, MPL Vol. XIII, col. 538).

Caspar, p. 593, Anmerkung zu. S. 199 ff. states that he does not try to assign synods to the years between 368 and 378, feeling that the data offered by the sources is not sufficiently clear to permit this, and gives rise to problems requiring special study.

378—Roman synod petitions Gratian and Valentianian II, sends to the East a Tomos and a disciplinary canon, and (probably) issues the fragment "Non nobis quidquam." The dating is explained on p. 594, Anmerkung zu S. 205 ff. On the content of the Tomos, see pp. 230 and 231, and also p. 596, Anmerkung zu S. 230, which discusses the textual problems connected with it.

Palanque:

371 or 372 (p. 478) Synod deposes Urbanus of Parma, Florentius of Pozzuoli.

377 (p. 273)—Synod, attended by Peter of Alexandria, which receives Dorotheus and sends in reply to his mission, a letter of

3. Iberian

which the fragment "Non nobis quidquam" remains. This council may have issued the anathemas which follow the letter "Per filium meum," and possibly the fragment "Illud sane."

378 (p. 478)—Petition (Et hoc gloriae vestrae) to Emperors, examines accusations of Isaac and exonerates Pope.

Ancient evidence for such councils is found in the following passages:

Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica VI, 25 (MPG Vol. LXVII, col. 1359)*: Now Damasus, the bishop of the city of Rome, together with Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, was the first to assemble a council in Rome, when they understood that this heresy was creeping ever farther afield, and to declare it at variance with the Catholic Church.

Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica V, 10 (GCS, Vol. XL, p. 295)*: The most admirable Damasus, when he had learned that this heresy had arisen, disowned not only Apollinaris but also Timotheus his disciple, and wrote a letter about this matter to the Oriental bishops. . . .

Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica II, 20 (MPL, Vol. XXI, col. 527)*: This statement of belief was first rejected at a council which had been assembled in the city of Rome by Damasus and Peter the bishop of Alexandria, expressing their sentiments in such terms that they voted that if anyone said that the Son of God, Who, just as He was truly God, is also truly man, lacked any thing either of humanity or of divinity, such a one should be considered outside the Church.

Mansi, Vol. III, p. 485 also offers the following information taken from the Libellus Synodicus:

Synodus Romana Tertia Damasi: [*Peter of Alexandria, the successor of Athanasius, is driven from the city by violence and is replaced by the usurper Lucius.*] But Peter quickly came to Rome: and Pope Damasus, after making him welcome, assembled at Rome a divine and holy Synod, which struck with condemnation the notorious Apollinaris, and Stephen *(Pagi: read rather* Timotheus) and the robber Lucius.

Ejusdem Damasi Quarta Romana: [*After the death of Valens, Gratian as Emperor of both East and West recalled the orthodox bishops from exile.*] At this time too the blessed Damasus assembled at Rome a holy Synod against the Arians, the Pneumatomachi and very many other heretics: and he sent to Paulinus

at Thessalonica an explanation and definition concerning the Divine Persons, which, through the design of God, was most effective everywhere. . . .

The following synod, however, is well attested, although there is not universal agreement on its date:

378 A letter to the Emperors Gratian and Valentinian II tells of turbulent conditions in Rome, contempt shown by ecclesiastics for ecclesiastical authority, and presents a petition concerning papal jurisdiction.

Anno Domini CCCLXXVIII vel CCCLXXXI Epistola Romani concilii sub Damaso habiti ad Gratianum et Valentinianum Imperatores *(MPL Vol. XIII, 575 ff., Mansi, Vol. III, p. 624)*:

We see, most merciful princes, a shining proof of your glory and respect for religion in the fact that, when almost countless representatives from widely separated parts of Italy had assembled at the revered shrine of the Holy See, and were considering what we ought to ask of you to improve the condition of the churches, we could find nothing better than what you had already granted, of your own accord, as it were, anticipating us.

For in so far as the justice of our request is concerned, . . . the privileges which have already been granted are so far from having been put into effect that we wish to ask for them once again. . . . For in the beginning . . . you had decided that once the instigator [*Ursinus*] of these disorders had been condemned, and those who had cooperated with him in stirring up riots had been separated from their partnership with that criminal, the Bishop of Rome should have the right of judgment over the remaining priests of the churches. . . .

But Ursinus, . . . is trying . . . to win over to his side every worthless individual, through the agency of those whom he has unlawfully ordained. Following his example, certain bishops who wrongfully occupy their churches, . . . have prevailed upon the Roman priests to refuse to accept the verdict, so that those who realize that they ought to be condemned on the score of their offenses, or those who have already seen themselves condemned, bribe a mob of common people. . . . For these reasons, we seek, not a renewal, but a strengthening of the imperial statute. . . . The Bishop of Parma, who was deposed by our verdict, still shamelessly retains his church. Florentius of Pozzuoli, likewise, was condemned and deposed, and after disturb-

ing the ears of Your Serenity, brought upon himself a rescript . . . yet after six years he has crept back to his city, is in possession of the church there, and has arrogantly stirred up much strife in the church from which he had been deposed. In Africa Your Mercy had ordered a certain Restitutus to state his case in the presence of the bishops. . . . Instead, aided by a savage mob of criminals, he avoided his obligation of pleading his case. . . . In Africa again, with God's approval you commanded that the sacrilegious rebaptizers [*Donatists?*] should be driven away, but Claudianus was consecrated for the intruders and is established as a sort of bishop to throw the city of Rome into confusion. . . .

Your Serenity, it is true, expelled him from Rome, and ordered him to return to his own country. Yet, scorning the courts, he remains, . . . frequently winning over men of the poorer classes with his bribes, and he does not fear to baptize again those converts whom he has bought. . . .

So far has the boldness of Ursinus and his party advanced that they have suborned the Jew Isaac who, by returning to the synagogue, has desecrated the sacred mysteries, in order that they might seek the life of our brother Damasus, and shed the blood of innocent men. All this was to be accomplished by the following stratagem—namely, that while he who had been appointed judge over all was pleading his own case, there would be no one who could judge concerning the lapsi, or at least over those members of factions who had usurped bishoprics. Because the innocence of our aforementioned brother Damasus was proved to the judgment of Your Serenity, his righteousness was publicly proclaimed. But as for Isaac, when he was not able to support the charges he made, he received the lot which he deserved. (Cf. *Folia IV* p. 27, item 369-371.) [*The precedence of episcopal tribunals, the obstinate to be transferred to civil tribunals. Damasus should pass final judgment on delinquent bishops or priests as much as any other bishop. The Bishop of Rome is to defend himself exclusively before the Imperial Council, as a defense against contentious clerics.*]

For the date of this letter, v. Caspar, p. 509, Anmerkung zu S. 205 ff., whose dating of 378 is supported by Rade, p. 34 and Palanque, p. 471. Jaffé, p. 38, and Hefele, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 985, prefer 380, and Kidd, p. 317, gives the alternatives of 378 or 382. The significance of the demands of the letter, and of the reply

given by the rescript "Ordinariorum sententiae" is discussed by Rade, p. 36 ff., Kidd, p. 318 ff., Caspar, p. 207 ff., and Palanque, p. 479 and p. 522. Ferrua in his notes to Testimonia 20 and 21, pp. 72 and 74, presents a valuable commentary on the dating of the various disturbances mentioned in this letter.

378 The Emperors grant some of the requests of the synod, but pass over the petition that the Emperor be the regular judge of the Pope.

Rescriptum Gratiani Augusti . . . ad Aquilinum Vicarium urbis *(Mansi, Vol. III, p. 627, MPL Vol. XIII, col. 56)*: The Augusti Gratian and Valentinian to the Vicar Aquilinus. . . . Ursinus is to be confined to Gaul, and exiled to Cologne to restrain him from arousing any further disorderly demonstrations. . . . A distant corner of Spain restrains Isaac, according to the directions of his condemnation; he will not promote his own safety if he foolishly attempts to stir up disturbances. The Bishop of Parma, all the more dangerous in proportion to his nearness to the glorious city, urges to greater violence a numerous and ignorant populace, and troubles the church from which he was once deposed by the decision of the holy prelates: he awaits, I suppose, the pointless distinction of an even more burdensome sentence. If your predecessor had had any vestige of loyalty and energy, he should have driven him beyond the boundaries of his territory without delay. Florentius of Pozzuoli, after the condemnation which he received when he was convicted by a just judgment, tried to disturb our clemency, and received a fitting reply in due course. After five years, he is once again trying to defile the church from which he was expelled. . . . Claudianus, too, summoned contrary to the commands of God by those who cause new troubles for religion, by those, I repeat, whom we had ordered to be driven away, is reported to have slipped into Rome (as though he would have attempted too slight an offense by remaining in Africa), and, deceitful teacher that he is, he endeavors not only to corrupt by a false rite those who are as yet unbaptized, but also to lead astray to even greater error those who have already received baptism. . . . We, punishing Claudianus with a penalty not at all in proportion to his deserts, have simply directed that he return to his native country, but so far have not treated him with severity. But it is

reported that he, too, remains. . . .

These tormentors of the most Holy See did not scruple to persecute with the most disgusting calumnies the Bishop Damasus, who was judged not only by the divine power of God, which would have been sufficient, but also by the investigation of the judges, to be a man of most devout disposition, as was proven also to our excellent father Valentinian, and now that they have abandoned the hope of being able to strike him, they harass the people for whom he stands as a hostage to God.

But up to the present, our judges have remained idle in snoring sloth; it is not necessary to point out what can be the result of disregarding an order; yet up to the present, I repeat, our idle officials lie supine and snoring. Unless, in the future (to summarize our order in detail), all those who, according to the findings of the bishops in council, are plotting disturbances of this sort are expelled beyond the hundredth mile-stone from the city and ordered to leave the boundaries of those cities whose people or whose churches they are molesting either by their own efforts or through the agency of a mob like themselves, you will be subject, above and beyond the injury to your reputation, which is no trifling loss in the eyes of good men, to the penalty for neglecting our orders. We further direct that if anyone, in the judgment of Damasus in conjunction with a council of from five to seven bishops, or in the judgment of those bishops who are Catholic, has been condemned and wishes unlawfully to retain his church, so that, although summoned to an ecclesiastical trial he fails, by reason of stubborn disobedience, to appear, the distinguished Pretorian Prefects of Gaul and Italy, or the proconsuls or Vicars are to use their authority to refer the matter to the episcopal court, so that the defendant will arrive in the city of Rome for further adjudication. But if such defiance on the part of anyone occurs in rather distant places, the whole course of the trial must be referred to the examination of the bishop who is the metropolitan of the same province, or if the defendant is himself a metropolitan, he must necessarily go without delay to Rome or appear before the judges appointed by the Bishop of Rome. It must be so arranged, however, that whoever they are . . . they shall be removed at least from the boundaries of that city in which they have been bishops. For we correct them less harshly than they deserve, and we punish their irrev-

erent obstinacy more gently than we ought. But if prejudice or favor is suspected on the part of the metropolitan, or of any priest, the defendant shall have the right to appeal to the Bishop of Rome or to a council of fifteen neighboring bishops who shall be summoned; only, after the trial has taken place, the verdict shall not be re-examined. Finally, we wish to have applied with all the more diligence in cases involving supreme rights a principle which natural justice has implanted in our minds with reference to business involving lesser issues, and to trials of slighter importance—namely, that no one who is characterized by notorious wickedness of life, or tainted with the shameful guilt of making unjust charges, may readily be permitted to take the part of an accuser or to offer testimony in accusation of a bishop.

For the date, and discussions of the significance of this document, see the notes to the previous item.

378 *(Kidd, p. 250; Palanque, p. 281: Spring, 378; Rade, p. 72 and 113: Summer, 378, and Caspar, p. 232: 378, probably Summer):* Peter takes advantage of Valens' edict of toleration to return to Alexandria.

Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica IV, 37 (MPG Vol. LXVII, col. 510)*: When, about the same time, the Emperor Valens had departed from Antioch, all those throughout his domains who had suffered persecution were greatly heartened, and especially the people of Alexandria. For just then Peter had recently returned from the city of Rome, bringing letters from Damasus the Roman Bishop in which he confirmed both the doctrine of consubstantiality and the consecration of Peter. Hence the people, regaining their confidence, expelled Lucius and installed Peter in his place.

Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica VI, 39 (MPG Vol. LXVII, col. 1414):* Since it happened at that time that Peter returned from the city of Rome with letters of Damasus, in which both the decrees of the Council of Nicaea and Peter's own consecration were confirmed, they [*the Alexandrians*] delivered the churches to him.

378 (Jaffé, p. 38) Damasus writes to the Eastern bishops concerning the condemnation of Apollinaris and Timotheus.

Damasus, *Epistola VII (MPL Vol. XIII, col. 370; Greek*

translation in Theodoret, Historia Ecclesiastica V, 10): Damasus to the bishops who rule the East. . . . I wish you to know, brethren, that we have already cast off the impious Timothy, the disciple of the heretic Apollinaris, together with his unhallowed teaching; and that is why we believe that the works he leaves behind him will have no influence in time to come. . . . Henceforward, do not permit either your clergy or your laity to listen to useless discussions of obscure questions. More than once we have set forth the rule that he who claims to be a Christian should hold fast to those teachings which were handed down by the Apostles. . . . Why is it, then, that you ask a new condemnation of Timothy, who, by reason of the judgment of the Holy See, in the presence of Peter the Bishop of Alexandria, has already been condemned together with his master Apollinaris, who likewise will endure on the day of judgment the sufferings and penalties he richly deserves. . . .

The date is disputed. Rade, p. 136: between 382 and 384; Kidd, p. 295: 382, a document of the Roman Synod of that year. Caspar, p. 241 and p. 597, Anmerkung zu S. 241, considers the circumstances of the letter, but gives no final decision on the date. Palanque, p. 283, n. 5, discusses the views of other historians, and gives, as his preference, sometime after the Council of 377 and before the death of Peter of Alexandria (380).

379 A Synod at Antioch countersigns and sends to Damasus documents which have previously been sent to them by the Westerners.

Mansi, Vol. III, p. 486, *Antiochena Meletii ex eodem* [*libello Synodico*]*:* Then Meletius, who is called aoidimos, that is "the honored one," on his throne at Antioch called together a divine and holy Synod, which subscribed to the divine creed and struck with condemnation Marcellus, Photinus and Apollinaris, and sent a divine statement of faith to Damasus and the Western bishops.

At the end of the "Non nobis quidquam" the following words are found: Here ends this letter or definition of the Roman synod held under Pope Damasus, and sent to the East. The entire Eastern Church at a synod held in Antioch, finding their beliefs in harmony with this doctrine, and all present being in agreement with the tenets set forth above, confirmed it individually with their signatures.

There is general agreement on the date. Rade, p. 114, n. 1, shows how the dating was arrived at. For the identity of the documents endorsed by the Antioch Synod, see Rade, p. 115 ff., Kidd, p. 270 ff.; Caspar, p. 232, refuses to commit himself to as explicit a statement as Rade and Kidd, stating only, "Sie stellte ihrerseits einen dogmatischen Tomos auf; da der Wortlauf nicht erhalten ist, lässt sich jedoch nicht ausmachen, wieweit er mit dem römischen Tomos der Synode von 378 übereinstimmte." Palanque, p. 283, n. 5, presents an especially lucid summary of the problems involved in this question.

In addition to the bibliography cited in FOLIA, *Vol. IV (1950), Spring Issue, pp. 13-14, constant reference will be made in the following pages to:*

Cavallera, J., St. Jérôme, sa vie et son oeuvre. Paris-Louvain, 1922.

Rauschen, G., Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirchen unter Theodosius dem Grossen. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1897.

Feb. 27, 380: Communion with Damasus and Peter of Alexandria is declared by Theodosius to serve as a standard of orthodoxy for his subjects:

Edict "Cunctos populos," Codex Theodosianus XVI, 1, 2 (Theodosiani Libri XVI, ed. Mommsen and Meyer, Berlin, 1905, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 833): The Emperors Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, Augusti. An edict to the people of the city of Constantinople. It is our will that all nations which are governed by our merciful rule should profess that religion which St. Peter taught to the Romans, which is preserved even to the present as it was imparted by him, and which is observed by Pope Damasus and by Peter the Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity, . . . Issued Feb. 27 at Thessalonica. Gratian Augustus, Consul for the fifth time; Theodosius Augustus, Consul for the first time.

On the date: The text reads: Dat. III Kal. Mar. This has been interpreted as Feb. 27 by Mommsen and Meyer, p. 833,

Caspar, p. 233, and Kidd, p. 280; as Feb. 28 by Rauschen, pp. 61 and 67, by Seeck, Regesten der Kaiser und der Päpste, Stuttgart, 1919, p. 253, and Bardy and Palanque, Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 284, n. 2.

Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica VII, 3 (MPG, Vol. LXVII, col. 1423):* While staying at Thessalonica, he issued a law to the people of the city of Constantinople. . . . Now in this rescript he indicated his wish that all his subjects should observe that religion which Peter, the prince of the Apostles had transmitted to the Romans from the very earliest times, and which in those days was professed by Damasus the Bishop of the city of Rome and by Peter of Alexandria.

It is this edict to which Theodoret refers in the passage which follows, but, as Rauschen points out (Jahrbücher, p. 67), he ascribes it erroneously to Gratian and places it in 378.

Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica V, 2 (GCS, Vol. XIX, p. 278):* He soon displayed even more clearly his characteristic devotion to religion and offered to the King of all the first-fruits of his reign by making a law which summoned the exiled shepherds to return home and be restored to their flocks and the churches to be delivered to those who were united in communion with Damasus. Now Damasus was Bishop of Rome, famed for his upright conduct and ready to say and do anything required in the interest of the apostolic teachings. He was the successor of Liberius in the administration of the Church.

Before October, 380: Damasus directs a Synod meeting at Saragossa to refrain from issuing a condemnation of the adherents of Priscillian unless they appear in person and are given a hearing:

Liber ad Damasum Episcopum (Priscilliani quae supersunt, ed. G. Schepss, Leipzig, 1889, CSEL, Vol. XVIII, p. 35): Hydatius issued there [*at Saragossa*] a certain letter of instruction, the purpose of which was to lay down a rule for the conduct of life. But no one was found guilty there on any of these points, for our wicked adversaries were thwarted, mostly through the influence of your letter in which you commanded, in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel, that no verdict be given against men who were absent and had not received a hearing.

On the authorship of the Liber ad Damasum and of the other Priscillianist treatises from the Würzburg manuscript edited by Schepss (CSEL, Vol. XVIII), see Labriolle, in Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 391, and d'Alès, Priscillien et l'Espagne chrétienne à la fin du IV^e^ siècle. Paris, 1936, p. 50 ff. On the date: Hefele, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 986, warns: "La date flotte entre 379-381"; however, he himself judges that the Synod must have been held "aux environs de l'an 380" and modern critics such as Rauschen, p. 72, Kidd, p. 300, Caspar, p. 217, and Palanque, Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 466, assign it to 380. The month of October is shown in the heading of the decrees of the Council (Mansi, III, 633).

380 *(Jaffé, p. 38):* Damasus, expresses to Acholius of Thessalonica his strong disapproval of the invalid consecration of Maximus the Cynic as Bishop of Constantinople, condemns translations of bishops from one see to another, and instructs him to do all in his power to secure the election of a suitable bishop for Constantinople:

Damasus, *Ep. V ad Acholium et alios Macedoniae Episcopos (MPL, Vol. XIII, col. 365 f.)*: Upon reading the letters of Your Charity, dearest brethren, I was deeply saddened to think that at this very time when, with God's help, the heretics had been subdued, some individuals coming from Egypt and seeking what was forbidden by the rule of church discipline made bold in the city of Constantinople to call to [*the fulness of*] the priesthood a Cynic, a stranger to our profession of faith. . . . For the future, since I have learned of the decision to hold a council at Constantinople, I urge Your Sincerity to take care that a bishop who is above reproach is chosen for that see; . . . And I further urge Your Charity not to allow anyone to be translated from one city to another, contrary to the rules of our predecessors, deserting the people entrusted to his care and passing over to another people through the promptings of ambition. . . .

Damasus, *Ep. VI ad Acholium Thessalonicensem Episcopum (MPL, Vol. XIII, col. 369)*: [*He commends Gratian's Silentiary Rusticus to Acholius, adding*]: I have written a detailed reply to the letters of Your Holiness stating my displeasure that certain individuals from Egypt have taken it upon themselves to consecrate as Bishop of Constantinople a certain long-haired Maximus, whose attire, according to the Apostle, is in the very highest

degree disgraceful. Hence it would be more in accord with the duty of Your Holiness to take pains to secure the appointment, in the future, of some Catholic with whom, through God's kindness, we may dwell in lasting peace.

Rade, pp. 58, 124, 163, places these letters in the year 380; on the other hand, Rauschen, Jahrbücher, p. 115, and Palanque and Bardy, Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 289, in discussing the Constantinople Council of 381, say that Damasus had sent instructions to Acholius a short time before.

That Damasus conferred special powers on Acholius may be inferred from passages in the correspondence of Pope Innocent I with the successors of Acholius. That it was Damasus who conferred them is attested by:

Innocent I, *Ep. I ad Anysium Thessalonicensum Episcopum, Ch. 1 (MPL, Vol. XX, col. 465)*: . . . to whom so many excellent men in the past, the bishops who were my predecessors—namely Damasus of holy memory, Siricius and the aforementioned [*Anastasius*] so entrusted matters that all occurrences in those parts were subject to the judicial competence of Your Holiness, . . .

That Acholius was the recipient is shown by:

Innocent I, *Ep. XIII ad Rufum Thessalonicensem Episcopum, Ch. 2 (MPL, Vol. XX, col. 515): [He entrusts to Rufus the powers of a Vicar Apostolic.]* For it is truly in accordance with the Lord's most sacred inspiration that we impose this responsibility upon the wisdom and probity of Your Sincerity; we do not set a new precedent in making this arrangement but are, rather, abiding by the example of our apostolic predecessors, who, realizing the capabilities of Acholius and Anysius, made the decision to entrust them with these duties.

MPL, Vol. XX, col. 516, note to Innocent I, Ep. XIII: Acholius had these powers from at least 380. On the relations between Rome and Thessalonica, see Rauschen, Jahrbücher, p. 473 ff., Rade, p. 59 ff., and Palanque, Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 481.

A Roman Synod is assigned to 380 by Jaffé, Hefele, and Kidd. For a summary of the documents which each believes to belong to this Synod, see FOLIA, *Vol. V, Winter issue, p. 46 f. Rauschen also (p. 71) declares that a Synod was held in this year and issued the Confessio fidei addressed to Paulinus (Theodoret, Historia Ecclesiastica V, 11, in GCS, Vol. XIX, p. 297; Mansi, Vol. III,*

p. 486 ff.; MPL, Vol. XIII, col. 558 ff.).

Sept., 381: A Council at Aquileia, presided over by Ambrose, petitions Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius to put a stop to the activities of Ursinus who from his place of exile is arousing unrest at Rome through his intermediaries:

Ep. I ("Provisum est quidem") Concili Aquileiensis ad Gratianum Imperatorem (Mansi, Vol. III, p. 621): The holy Council assembled at Aquileia sends greeting to the most merciful Emperors and the most glorious and blessed Christian Princes Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius. [*After reminding the Emperors of Ursinus' intrigues with the Arians to keep the churches in a state of turmoil, the writers continue*]: Yet, even without this, we would still consider it necessary to beseech Your Clemency to protect the Roman Church, the head of the entire Roman world, and that most sacred faith of the Apostles from disorder. . . . And therefore we ask and petition that you deign to deprive him [*Ursinus*] of any opportunity to insinuate himself into your good graces. . . . The eunuch Paschasius . . . is his agent in transmitting letters by which he stirs up rioting by the pagans and tries to arouse the dregs of the populace to violence. We therefore beg that by repulsing this most persistent creature, you assure to the Roman people . . . and to us bishops the tranquillity which he has disrupted.

The date of the Council of Aquileia, given in the opening of the Gesta of the Council as: Sept. 5, in the consulship of the "Clarissimi" Syagrius and Eucherius *(Mansi, Vol. III, col. 601) and* Sept. 3 *of the same year (MPL, Vol. XVI, col. 916) has been subjected to revision by various writers. Rade, p. 63, n. 2, and p. 163, argues for Autumn 380, while Palanque, St. Ambroise et l'Empire Romain, Paris, 1933, pp. 84 and 504, advocates May, 381. Rauschen, p. 105, n. 7, discusses and rejects Rade's theory. Summaries of various dates suggested for this Council are given in Hefele, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 49, and by Bardy and Palanque, Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 292, n. 2, who add: "Cependant, la témoignage formelle des Actes Officiels est difficile à récuser."*

The Libellus Synodicus (Mansi, Vol. III, col. 601) states that it was Damasus who convoked this Synod at Gratian's request: He [*Gratian*] also directed Pope Damasus to convoke a Synod at Aquileia. *But see Palanque, St. Ambroise, p. 78 ff. for the circum-*

stances of the convocation of this Council.

Shortly after the Council of Aquileia: The Arian Maximinus scores Damasus' absence from the Council and his habitual arrogance, and taunts the Bishops of the Council with their passivity in the face of Damasus' reversal of their earlier condemnation of Leontius of Salona:

Dissertatio Maximini contra Ambrosium, 122 ff. (ed. Friedrich Kauffmann, Strassburg, 1899, in Texte und Untersuchungen zur Altgermanischen Religionsgeschichte. Vol. I, Aus der Schule des Wulfila, p. 86 ff.): Furthermore, Ambrose, . . . what authority do you have for personally reading aloud the three letters which Damasus sent to excuse the presence of others? . . . Damasus, too —that is, if he looked upon himself as a bishop—should have been invited like everyone else to the gathering, to question and be questioned, to hear and be heard, about his belief. . . . Why does he not realize, why do you not understand, that the See of Peter is shared in common by all bishops, since that holy Apostle, through God's gracious will, gave it not only to the Bishop of Rome, but to all bishops, and he himself, far from claiming any personal privileges over his fellow Apostles, was ready to serve them. . . . And if, in the case of mere Samaritans, the blessed Peter, who, on account of his primacy was the pillar of the Apostles, was still humble and willing to serve, whence, may I ask, comes this insolence of Damasus, who not only does not deign to lend his personal presence to a Council assembled for the sake of our common faith, but as head of the hierarchy excuses the absence of others, interposing, through your connivance, the weight of his authority? Yet even this power, which, thanks to your servility, he asserts for himself, could be endured and overlooked, if it did not subvert the good order of religion . . . you cannot deny that at [*Damasus'*] direction you gave to Leontius of Salona a hearing as a result of which you found him guilty and deposed him from the rank of bishop. And what was the outcome? The very individual whom you deposed has been accepted by Damasus into his communion, although you are charged with no error; such is the story which Leontius himself is known to have spread among the general public. . . . Yet you did not take action . . . on account of the annulment of your verdict, but you made your mind manifest that the judgment

which he [*Damasus*] made concerning Leontius in setting aside your sentence should remain uncontested . . . surely you might have adopted one of the following alternatives: first, if you considered Damasus justified . . ., you should have realized that your judgment had been faulty and you, too, should have acknowledged him out of respect for the man who rightly showed him favor, as well as to rectify your previous decision. . . . Or else . . . you should have expelled [*Leontius*] from communion with you; thus you . . . might remain unpolluted by the degrading communion of Damasus, his partner in guilt by reason of illicit indulgence to him. . . . But no wonder that you look with indifference on the reversal of your own verdict and the unlawful favor which Damasus has shown to a deposed bishop. . . .

On the date of the Dissertatio Maximini, Bardy and Palanque, Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 277.

Sept.-Dec., 381?: Synod at Rome?

Mansi, Vol. III, col. 633, believes that a Synod was held in Rome after the Council of Aquileia, and that this is the Synod to which the Constantinople Council of 382 refers in its letter to the Western bishops. For the letter, see the items on the Councils of Rome and Constantinople of the year 382.

Winter, 381-382: Priscillian and his companions unsuccessfully seek an audience with Damasus, and petition him to intervene against their adversaries:

Liber ad Damasum Episcopum, p. 34 (CSEL, Vol. XVIII): . . . we rejoice because the situation has developed in such a way that we may now state our belief in your presence, for you are most venerable of all of us and have reached the glory of the Apostolic See fortified by a lifetime of experience and inspired by the example of St. Peter.

Ibid., p. 38: [*After insisting that their belief is orthodox, they add*] and although a feeling of contempt fills the minds of Christians at the mere repetition of such sorry doctrines [*as those with which we are charged*], yet we mention them in your venerable presence, . . . in order that if we ourselves are guilty of those beliefs which we condemn, the very profession of faith contained in this petition may expose our guilt.

Ibid., p. 41: [*When Hydatius had obtained the rescript directed against them*] we entrusted our churches to God . . . and those of us who were able came to you. It was our intention, shared by those who are absent, to state in our petition to you, that if Hydatius had any charge to bring against us, we were seeking a hearing by bishops but were willing to agree to a public trial, if such were his preference. . . . And so we have come to Rome . . . wishing only to address you first and, in order that our silence might not be interpreted as arising from a guilty conscience, we present instead a statement which sets forth an orderly account of this incident and, even more important, a declaration of the Catholic belief in which we live.

Ibid., p. 42: . . . we beg Your Venerable Wisdom that if the belief we have professed, when judged by the standard of the truth which you transmit to us as you have received it from the Apostles, rests on God, [*if our orthodoxy is abundantly clear, and if none of us has been actually proved guilty of the charges preferred by our enemies*], then let the malice of the bishop [*Hydatius*] fail of accomplishment. Let that bishop be deposed. . . . Grant us a hearing, we beg, for you are most venerable and highest of all. Summon Hydatius and, if he is convinced that he can prove any charge against us, let him retain the crown of the eternal priesthood. . . . Or, if it is repugnant to your native kindliness to impose on anyone the harsh treatment which he has inflicted on us, then, we beg you, send letters to your brothers the Spanish bishops.

Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica II, ch. 48 (Sulpicii Severi Libri qui Supersunt, ed. C. Halm, Vienna, 1866, CSEL, Vol. I, p. 101)*: But then Instantius, Salvianus and Priscillian set out for Rome to refute the charges against them in the presence of Damasus, who was Bishop of the city at that time. . . . When they reached Rome hoping to clear themselves, they were not even admitted into his sight.

On the date: d'Alès, Priscillien, p. 49, and Kidd, p. 302, favor Winter, 381-382; Rauschen, p. 141, prefers 382, and Rade, p. 164, sets the events in 383.

382: *(Jaffé, p. 39)* A Council held at Rome issues an invitation to the Easterners attending the Constantinople Council to participate, rejects Flavianus of Antioch and excommunicates

his consecrators, and considers the case of the Apollinarians:

Letter of the Constantinople Council to Damasus and the Roman Council (Mansi, Vol. III, col. 583): . . . you, wishing to display your brotherly love for us, have transmitted to us, through the letter of the most devout Emperor, an invitation to take part in the Council which, through God's will and providence, has been convoked at Rome. . . .

Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica VII, 11 (MPG, Vol. LXVII, col. 1442):* [*Flavianus is consecrated Bishop of Constantinople in violation of his oath, giving rise to great dissension.*] But the Bishop of Rome and the other Bishops from the western regions were gravely displeased; they directed to Paulinus, as Bishop of Antioch, the customary so-called "synodal" letters, but sent no communication to Flavianus. Furthermore, they held his consecrators, Diodorus of Tarsus and Acacius of Beroea, guilty of wrong-doing, and refused to be in communion with them. And in order that they might investigate these matters, they themselves, as well as the Emperor Gratian wrote to the Eastern Bishops to summon them to the West.

Rufinus, *Liber de adulteratione librorum Origenis (MPG, Vol. XVII, col. 629):* When the question of receiving the Apollinarians was under consideration, Bishop Damasus entrusted the drawing up of a statement of faith which would be signed by those Apollinarians who wished to be reconciled to the Church to a certain friend of his, a priest noted for his fluency and clarity of expression, who usually took care of such matters for him.

Jerome, *Apologia adversus libros Rufini II, 20 (MPL, Vol. XXIII, col. 444):* I consider it unnecessary to refute such manifest absurdities as the story told about me in which I receive a request from nothing less than a Synod and under the designation of "a certain friend whom Bishop Damasus commissioned to compose church correspondence," and in which you describe the duplicity of the Apollinarians who took the book of Athanasius in which the expression "Dominicus homo" appears, ostensibly in order to read it, but actually corrupted it by erasing the words and then rewriting the same ones over the erasure, in order to give the impression, not that they had falsified the book, but that I had made the addition. I beg of you, my dear friend, keep this sort of nonsense out of church treatises, and do not consider

as sober material stories more suited to after-dinner conversation. For even though you heard it from me as true, another who was ignorant of this fact might say that you had made it up out of whole cloth.

There is, in general, agreement on the year; cf. Jaffé, p. 39, Caspar, p. 239, Bardy and Palanque, Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 295. But the season of the year is disputed. Rauschen, p. 134, and Palanque, St. Ambroise, pp. 102 and 507, assign it to the summer of this year, while Kidd, p 294, places it in the autumn. For Hefele, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 57, this is the fifth synod held during the reign of Damasus, while Kidd, p. 294, considers it the seventh, having been preceded by a sixth synod in May or June of the same year. Rauschen, p. 135, and Kidd, p. 294, attribute to this synod the issuance of a letter to the Eastern bishops condemning Apollinarianism (Theodoret V, 10; Damasus, Ep. VII; see FOLIA, *Vol. V, Winter Issue, p. 54). But, as Hefele points out (Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 59), in the absence of the Acta of this council, it is not possible to make many categorical assertions about it.*

Some writers consider the first three chapters of the so-called Decretum Gelasianum to be, in substance, the work of this Council. They are printed among the works of Damasus (MPL, Vol. XIII, col. 373) under the heading De Explanatione fidei ex concilio urbis Romae sub Damaso and have been edited by C. H. Turner in "Journal of Theological Studies," Vol. I (1900), pp. 554-560. Chapter I develops the topic proposed in its opening sentence: "First we must treat of the seven-fold Spirit which dwells in Christ"; *Chapter II contains a canon of Scripture, and Chapter III asserts the primacy of the Roman See:* . . . Although all the Catholic churches extending throughout the entire world are a single bridal chamber of Christ, yet the holy Roman Church has not been set above the other churches by the decree of any Synod, but has received the primacy through the words which Our Lord and Saviour spoke in the Gospel: "Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." . . . *Their authenticity is accepted by Hefele, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 55, n. 2. Rade, p. 514 ff., accepts all but the third chapter which he concedes to Gelasius. Caspar, pp. 247 ff. and 598, discussing Chapter III, considers its origin in the Council of 382 as highly probable, while Palanque,*

Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 487, comments: "La conjecture est plausible." Kidd, p. 295, on the other hand, points to Dolschütz' conclusion that the document was composed by an anonymous scholar in the sixth century. For a synopsis of the points involved in the question, see Caspar, p. 598.

In speaking of the perpetuation of the Schism of Antioch, Socrates, Historia Ecclesiastica, V, 15 (MPG, Vol. LXVII, col. 601) describes the reconciliation of Flavianus with a Pope whom he identifies as Damasus: But Flavianus, as the old proverb goes, left no stone unturned in his efforts to unite them [*the disaffected Antiochenes*] with his own party. This he achieved not long afterwards by allaying the indignation which Theophilus the Bishop of Alexandria harbored against him, and using Theophilus' good offices to win over Damasus the Bishop of Rome. For both Bishops were ill-disposed to Flavianus not only on account of his act of perjury but also because he had furnished an occasion of discord among people who had previously dwelt in harmony. Theophilus, on being reconciled to Flavianus, sent the priest Isidore to Rome and softened the still hostile temper of Damasus with the argument that in order to restore harmony among the people, it was necessary to ignore and silently overlook the sin which Flavianus had committed. *But the reconciliation took place not between Flavianus and Damasus, but between Flavianus and Siricius (v. Cavallera, St. Jérôme, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 27, n. 2).*

Summer, 382: A Council at Constantinople sends to Damasus and the other Western bishops a delegation with a letter in which they excuse their absence from the Council at Rome, reaffirm the orthodoxy of their belief, and announce the election of new bishops in the East:

Letter of the Constantinople Council to Damasus and the Roman Council (Mansi, Vol. III, col. 582 ff.): To their most honored lords and deeply revered brethren and colleagues Damasus, Ambrose, Britto, Valerian, Acholius, Anemius, Basil, and the other holy bishops gathered together in the great city of Rome, the holy Council of orthodox bishops assembled in the noble city of Constantinople sends greeting in the Lord. [*Years of unremitting persecution have left our churches in a deplorable state.*] Now since you, wishing to display your brotherly love for us, have transmitted to us, through the letter of the most devout

Emperor, an invitation to take part in the Council which has been convoked . . . at Rome [*we would willingly come were it not that our absence would expose our weakened churches to danger*]. For we have assembled in Constantinople in obedience to the command which Your Reverence had sent in a letter last year after the Council of Aquileia to the most devout Emperor Theodosius. [*The other bishops of our province could not send us authorization for the journey to Rome quickly enough to insure our arrival there in time for the Council.*] We have asked our most venerable and highly esteemed brethren and colleagues, the Bishops Cyriacus, Eusebius, and Priscian, graciously to undertake the hardships of a journey to you. They will not only make clear to you how earnestly our hearts desire concord and how the peace of the Church is present in our minds more constantly than any other thought, but they will also declare the earnestness of the zeal which inflames us to safeguard sound belief. [*We have suffered cruelly for the faith defined at Nicaea. Contenting ourselves here with the condemnation of certain heresies, we point to the fuller expressions of our belief contained in the documents of the Antioch Synod and of last year's Constantinople Council. We announce the election of Nectarius as Bishop of Constantinople and of Flavianus as Bishop of Antioch, and the confirmation of Cyril's election to the See of Jerusalem. We pray that the churches of the East and the West may now dwell together in peace.*]

For the date of Summer, 382, cf. Kidd, p. 293, Caspar, p. 239, and Bardy and Palanque, Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 295. Rauschen, p. 131, criticizes the statement of Hefele, Vol. II, part 1, p. 54, that the Council took place in the beginning of the summer.

On the "Tome of the Westerns" mentioned in one of the two canons of this Council, see Hefele, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 29 ff., Rauschen, p. 133, Kidd, p. 270.

The delegation of bishops who brought the letter of the Constantinople Council to Rome is believed by Caspar, p. 240 (cf. Bardy and Palanque, Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 295, n. 7) to have been accompanied by officials of the court and to have brought the request for the recognition of Nectarius of which mention is made by Pope Boniface, Epistola XV, ch. 6 (MPL, Vol. XX, col. 783): The Emperor Theodosius of most gentle

memory was of the opinion that the consecration of Nectarius might be challenged because he was not known to us officially; therefore he personally sent a delegation composed of officials of the court and bishops to request that the Roman See dispatch the usual letter of communion confirming his episcopal status.

382: Damasus transmits to Ambrose for the attention of Gratian a protest by the Christian senators against the pagan senators' petition for the restoration of the Altar of Victory:

Ambrose, *Ep. XVII, 10 (MPL, Vol. XVI, col. 963):* For when they [*the pagan senators*] were trying to present this petition about two years ago, I received from the blessed Damasus, the Bishop of the Church of Rome, elected by the judgment of God, a proclamation issued by the Christian senators in overwhelming numbers, insisting that, for their part, they had sought no such thing, that they were not in sympathy with pagan petitions of this type, and that they did not yield their consent to them.

Jaffé, p. 40, places this event under the heading 382-384, but the date 382 is clear from the context (cf. Rauschen, p. 119, Kidd, p. 310, and Palanque, St. Ambroise, p. 117 ff. and p. 570, who places it in the autumn of this year).

382: Jerome becomes a secretary and correspondent for Damasus:

Jerome, *Ep. CXXIII, 10 ad Geruchiam (ed. J. Hilberg, Vienna, 1910, CSEL, Vol. LVI, p. 82):* Many years ago, when I was helping Damasus, the Bishop of the city of Rome with correspondence and was answering the requests for advice which came from synods in the East and in the West. . . .

On the time at which Jerome began to hold this position, see Kidd, p. 323, and Cavallera, St. Jérôme, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 155. This relationship lasted until the death of Damasus, and the esteem in which the Pope held Jerome is attested by the latter in his letter to Asella (Ep. XLV, ch. 3, CSEL, Vol. LIV, p. 325): Damasus of blessed memory spoke constantly of me.

382: Damasus issues unsuccessful complaints to the judge Bassus against the Luciferian bishop Ephesius:

Libellus Precum Faustini et Marcellini, ch. 83 ff. (CSEL,

Vol. XXXV, p. 30 ff.): For the same Damasus, assuming a tyrannical authority, persecuted other Catholics, priests and laymen alike, and sent them into exile, accomplishing his designs with the help of pagan lawyers and of judges who were friendly to him. . . . Just recently he attempted to unleash a cruel persecution against the most blessed Bishop Ephesius . . . arousing hostility against him by attaching to him the false designation of "Luciferian" and presenting to the judge Bassus repeated complaints against him on this pretext. But Bassus . . . dismissed the charges which Damasus brought, declaring himself absolutely opposed to the prosecution of Catholic men of sound faith. . . . And now for the first time Damasus blushed in shame, because he had met the only judge who scrupulously interpreted and observed the imperial decisions.

On the date: Rauschen, p. 140; Palanque, Histoire de l'Eglise, Vol. III, p. 486, and Caspar, Vol. I, p. 216, who points out that Bassus was praefectus urbi in 382-383.

383: Damasus questions Jerome on the meaning of the word "Hosanna":

Damasus, *Ep. VIII ad Hieronymum (MPL, Vol. XIII, col. 371, and CSEL, Vol. LIV, p. 103):* To his dearly beloved son Jerome, Bishop Damasus sends greeting in the Lord. [*I have noticed that even scholars of orthodox belief give divergent and self-contradictory interpretations of the passage "Hosanna to the Son of David." Hence*] it will be the task of Your Charity to write in a way to be understood by our contemporaries what is to be found in the Hebrew, cutting away all mere conjectures and trampling upon ambiguities, so that Our Sollicitude may offer you thanks in Jesus Christ for this favor as well as for many others.

Jerome, *Ep. XX, ch. 6 (CSEL, Vol. LIV, p. 110):* I have set forth these remarks for the time being as briefly and concisely as the limitations of my understanding permit. But Your Beatitude should know that a feeling of boredom in reading should not find its way into a discussion of this kind. We might easily have fabricated some explanation which would solve the difficulty with a single word; others . . . have proceeded in this way. But it is proper to take pains for a little while for the sake of truth, and to accustom one's ear to a strange tongue, rather than

to make an unfounded pronouncement in interpreting a foreign language.

On the correspondence and the works of St. Jerome, the chronology of Cavallera, St. Jérôme, has been followed. For the date of this exchange, see Cavallera, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 155.

383: In reply to an inquiry from Damasus, Jerome interprets the parable of the Prodigal Son:

Jerome, *Ep. XXI ad Damasum de duobus filiis, ch. 1 (CSEL, Vol. LIV, p. 111):* Your Beatitude's query was more in the nature of a debate. [*Then Jerome quotes from Damasus' letter a series of questions on the parable, after which he offers a lengthy explanation of the difficulties raised.*]

Ibid., ch. 42 (CSEL, Vol. LIV, p. 142): I do not deny that the style of your humble servant may seem unpolished to you; but I have often explained that no piece of writing can be elegant unless it is worked over by its author's own hand. Therefore you will forgive my painful eyes—or rather forgive me for dictating this letter, especially as you realize that it is not eloquence but correct understanding that is required in questions of theology. . . .

On the date, Cavallera, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 155.

383: Damasus approves of Jerome's *Adversus Helvidium:*

Jerome, *Ep. XLVIII . . . ad Pammachium, ch. 18 (CSEL, Vol. LIV, p. 382):* In the book which I wrote in refutation of Helvidius on the perpetual virginity of Mary, while Damasus of holy memory was still alive, I found it necessary to speak at length about the burdens of marriage in order to extol the happiness of virginity. Can anyone maintain that he, who was eminently learned in the Scriptures and the chaste preceptor of the virgin Church, found anything to censure in the language I used?

On the date, Cavallera, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 155.

383-384: Jerome dedicates to Damasus his translation of the Sermons of Origen:

Jerome, *Praefatio, Interpretatio Homiliarum Duarum Origenis*

in Canticum Canticorum (MPL, Vol. XXIII, col. 1118): Jerome to the most blessed Pope Damasus . . . my translation of these two treatises which he [*Origen*] composed in the manner of everyday speech for babes who were as yet sucklings has been made with more accuracy than elegance. I gave you only a taste to whet your appetite for his wisdom, not a full repast, so that you may realize how highly his major works are to be prized, when these, which are less weighty, prove so delightful.

On the date, Cavallera, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 155.

383-384: Damasus is attacked in a pamphlet presented to the Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, by the Luciferians Faustinus and Marcellinus:

Gennadius, *De Viris Inlustribus, ch. 16 (ed. E. C. Richardson, Leipzig, 1896, in Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Vol. XIV, pt. 1, p. 67):* [*The priest Faustinus*] also wrote, in collaboration with another priest named Marcellinus, a book which he presented to the Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius for the defense of his own faction. From this it is apparent that he was a partisan of the Luciferian schism, for in his book he scores Hilary the Bishop of Poitiers and Damasus the Bishop of Rome, alleging that they failed to consult the best interests of the Church in receiving back into communion the apostate prelates, for the sake of reestablishing peace among the bishops.

On the date: Guenther, in a note to the Libellus Precum Faustini (CSEL, Vol. XXXV, p. 5): 383 or 384; Rauschen, pp. 140 and 199: 384, although there is nothing against Usener's date of late 383; Caspar, p. 219: 384; Kidd, p. 157: 383.

384 (Spring): Jerome begins a translation of Didymus' *De Spiritu Sancto,* intending to dedicate it to Damasus:

Jerome, *Interpretatio Libri Didymi de Spiritu Sancto, Praefatio . . . (MPL, Vol. XXIII, col. 107):* When I was living in Babylon . . . I wanted to set forth my trifling views on the Holy Spirit, and to dedicate the little work which I had begun to the Bishop of the same city. . . . I have come back to Jerusalem. . . . And so, my brother Paulinianus, although the aforesaid Bishop Damasus who first inspired me to this work now sleeps in Christ, encouraged, nevertheless, by your entreaties as well as those of

the revered Paula and Eustochium, the handmaids of Christ, at your instance I hum here in Judea the song which I could not sing in a strange land.

On the date of the beginning of this translation, Cavallera, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 155.

384 (Spring): Damasus applies to Jerome for a solution of five Scriptural difficulties, asking for a brief reply, and holding up Lactantius as an example of prolixity to be avoided at all costs.

Damasus, *Ep. IX ad Hieronymum (MPL, Vol. XIII, col. 371, and CSEL, Vol. LIV, pp. 265-266):* Since you have been sleeping and for a long time now have been reading instead of writing, I have decided to arouse you by sending you some little queries. . . . Yesterday again you sent the letter carrier back to me with the message that you had no letters yet except the ones which you composed some time ago in the desert and which I read and copied with the greatest eagerness, but you volunteered a promise that you would steal some of the night for work so that you would be able to compose a few, if I wished. I willingly accept the offer of a favor which I wanted to ask even though you should refuse. Now it seems to me that no topic of conversation will be more worthy of our discussion than a colloquy on the Scriptures, that is, I shall put the questions, and you will answer them. . . . Make ready then, and treat the topics which I propose, yet observe due measure so that the difficulties which I raise may not lack a solution, nor your letter, brevity. For I must admit to you that I do not take pleasure in reading those books of Lactantius which you gave me long ago precisely because very many of his letters are drawn out to the length of a thousand lines and seldom discuss the doctrines of our faith; the result is that their length causes boredom to the reader. . . .

Jerome, *Ep. XXXVI ad Damasum (CSEL, Vol. LIV, p. 268; MPL, Vol. XIII, col. 452):* Jerome to the most blessed Pope Damasus. After receiving the letter of Your Holiness, I immediately sent for my secretary and directed him to take some dictation. [*But this was interrupted by the arrival of some Hebrew volumes which had to be copied without delay.*] But because, according to the deacon whom you sent to me yesterday,

you said that you expected from me what you consider a letter but what is, in my opinion, a treatise . . . I have sketched out the following answers. . . . Now, to speak candidly, I have in my hands the book of Didymus on the Holy Spirit, which I would like to dedicate to you after completing the translation. I tell you this so that you may not think that I am only dozing, since you appear to consider reading done without note-taking a mere siesta. . . .

For the date of this exchange, Cavallera, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 155.

384 (Spring): Jerome addresses to Damasus the Preface of his translation of the New Testament:

Jerome, *Praefatio in Quatuor Evangelia (MPL, Vol. XXIX, col. 525):* Jerome to the most blessed Pope Damasus. You compel me to make a new work from an old one. [*I am well aware of the criticism to which this will subject me.*] Against this jealousy I am fortified by two reflections: first, that it is you, the supreme Priest, who commission it. . . . My wish is that you may prosper in Christ and be mindful of me, most blessed Pope.

On the date, Cavallera, Vol. I, pt. 2, p. 155.

384 *(Jaffé, p. 40):* A letter of Damasus exonerates Symmachus from the charge of having offered violence to Christians in carrying out imperial orders for the restoration of ornaments of public buildings:

Symmachus, *Ep. Bk. x, 21 (xxxiv, xxxi). (Q. Aurelii Symmachi quae supersunt, ed. O. Seeck, Berlin, 1883, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 295):* Let [*the fabricator of these charges against me*] reply to Bishop Damasus' letter, in which he asserts that the followers of this religion have not been subjected to any abusive treatment. . . . Credence should be given to the Bishop of the same law which is alleged to have been outraged. . . . Clearly, since the good Bishop declares that none of his subjects is held in prison or is under arrest, I do not understand to whom in particular your order for the release of prisoners applies.

The letter must be dated some time between Symmachus' entrance into office in the Spring of 384 (Seeck, Symmachi quae

supersunt, p. CCIX) and the death of Damasus in December of that year.

384 (shortly before the death of Damasus): Himerius, Bishop of Tarraco, addresses to Damasus a letter of inquiry which reaches Rome after the Pope's death:

Siricius, *Ep. Himerio Tarraconensi episcopo (Mansi, Vol. III, p. 655; MPL, Vol. XIII, col. 1132):* The report which Your Fraternity has addressed to Damasus, my predecessor of holy memory, finds me appointed to his See. . . . And because we who . . . have succeeded to the honors which were his must also take upon ourselves his burdens and duties, . . . we do not refuse a suitable reply to the individual points . . . of your inquiry. . . .

Dec. 11, 384: Burial of Damasus:

Liber Pontificalis, Felician abridgment *(Duchesne, p. 84):* He was buried on December 11 in his basilica where the bodies of his mother and sister also rest.

Ibid., Cononian abridgment *(Duchesne, p. 84):* He was buried on December 11 in the basilica which he had built on the Via Ardeatina.

Ibid., Second edition *(Duchesne, p. 212):* He was buried on December 11 near his mother and sister in his basilica on the Via Ardeatina.

Martyrologium Hieronymianum *(ed. H. Quentin, with commentary by H. Delehaye, Acta SS. Novembris, Tomi II Pars Posterior, Brussels, 1931, p. 641):* December 10, at Rome, Bishop Damasus. *But (ibid., p. 643) the Epternach MS. and the abridgments read:* December 11, at Rome, burial of Pope Damasus, *and this is upheld by Delehaye in his commentary as the correct date.*

Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon (MPL, Vol. LI, col. 918)*: Tenth Indiction, consulship of Antonius and Syagrius. . . . Damasus, the thirty-fifth Bishop of the Roman Church (if Liberius and Felix are excepted) rested in the Lord in the eighteenth year of his pontificate.

On the error in the year made by Marcellinus, see Ferrua, Test. 3, adn. 16, p. 62.

A summary of some of the activities of Damasus is given in

the various versions of the Liber Pontificalis:

From the Felician abridgement (Duchesne, p. 84): He lived in the time of the Emperor Julian. He built two basilicas, one . . . in the neighborhood of the Via Ardeatina, where he is buried. He was accused on a charge of adultery, but a Synod of forty-three bishops which was assembled exonerated him and condemned and excommunicated his accusers, the deacons Concordius and Calistus. On five occasions during the month of December he held ordinations, ordaining thirty-one priests and eleven deacons and consecrating sixty-one bishops of various dioceses.

The Cononian abridgement (Duchesne, p. 84) adds: He dedicated a marble tablet ad Catacumbas where the bodies of the Apostles Peter and Paul lay and adorned it with a verse inscription. [*According to this version, the Synod which exonerated Damasus was composed of eighteen bishops; and Damasus consecrated not sixty-one, but forty-one bishops.*]

The second edition (Duchesne, p. 212) further states: He built two basilicas, one near the theater, dedicated to St. Lawrence and another on the Via Ardeatina where he is buried. . . . He conducted a successful search for the bodies of many of the saints, and celebrated their virtues in poems. He made an ordinance for the Church. . . . He established as a station in the city of Rome the basilica which he himself had constructed. . . . [*The number of bishops consecrated by Damasus is given here as sixty-two.*] He directed that psalms should be sung night and day in all churches and this directive was given to all priests, bishops, and monasteries.

For a summary of opinions on the historical value of these items from the Liber Pontificalis, see Ferrua's notes to Testimonia 1, 2, and 3, pp. 60-62.

Writings:

Jerome mentions the writings of Damasus in two passages:

Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus, ch. 103 (ed. E. C. Richardson, Leipzig, 1896, in Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Vol. XIV, pt. 1, p. 48):* Damasus, the bishop of the city of Rome, who had a talent for writing graceful verse, composed numerous brief works in hexameters. He died close to the age of eighty, in the reign of Theodosius.

Jerome, *Ep. XXII ad Eustochium, ch. 22 (CSEL, Vol. LIV, p. 174):* And now, if you would like to know from how many vexations a virgin is free, to how many a wife is subject, I recommend that you read Tertullian's book addressed to his friend the philosopher, and his other pamphlets on virginity, as well as the admirable volume of St. Cyprian and the writings in verse and prose by Pope Damasus on this subject; . . .

On the poems of Damasus, see Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasi, Rome, 1942, p. 7 ff. The only ones which have come down to us are the short verses of which the majority were composed to be inscribed on stone and set up at the tombs of the martyrs. All references concerning these "epigrams" are to the latest edition by Ferrua.

Some of these short poems are of great interest for the information which they furnish concerning the family of Damasus (e.g., No. 10, Epitaphius matris, No. 11, Epitaphius sororis, and No. 57, the first two lines of which summarize the ecclesiastical career of Damasus' father. See Folia, *Vol. IV [1950], Summer Issue, p. 15), and also for their references to important events of his life. In this category we may place:*

No. 42, SS. Martyribus in Coem. Thrasonis Sepultis *(Ferrua, p. 184):* All ye who read these lines, pay reverence to the tomb of the saints; the passing years could keep no record of their names nor of the number of them. Know that Bishop Damasus adorned their tomb rejoicing in the return of the clerics which Christ granted him. Bishop [*Damasus*] fulfills his vows to the holy martyrs. *The verses commemorate the reconciliation with Damasus of the clergy who had supported Ursinus. The event is placed by Ferrua, p. 184, n. 4, either at the time of the return of the basilica of Sicininus, or after the dispersal of the assemblies beyond the city walls; cf.* Folia, *Vol. IV (1950), Summer Issue, pp. 23 and 25.*

No. 57, Titulus Archivorum, l. 3-7 *(Ferrua, p. 210):* Christ, the all-powerful, willed to grant me the honor of the Apostolic See, promoting me from here *(or, if it be assumed that the building was the family home of Damasus and first converted into archives by him*: when I had grown to manhood and left this place). I wished, I admit, to construct a new storehouse for the archives and to add pillars on the right and on the left which would forever preserve the name of Damasus.

No. 58, Ad S. Laurentii in Damaso *(Ferrua, p. 212):* To you, O Christ, I, Damasus, guarded by the help of the martyr Lawrence, have dedicated this new church.

No. 59, Elogium S. Felicis, l. 5-7 *(Ferrua, p. 214):* Because through your intercession I was preserved and burst the bonds of death, when my enemies who spoke falsely of me were crushed, Damasus, your client, fulfills his vows to you in these verses. *This refers to Damasus' acquittal on the false charges of Isaac; v. Ferrua, p. 215, and* FOLIA, *Vol. IV (1950), Spring Issue, p. 27, and Vol. IV (1951), Winter Issue, p. 50.*

Another (No. 51, Elogium Proiectae, Ferrua, p. 202, written for the grave of a young Roman matron who seems to have been personally known to Damasus, praises the lady's virtues and concludes with the words: Damasus offers these lines as a consolation for the tears of all who lament Proiecta.

Two other poems are concerned with Damasus' own burial place. In No. 16, Elogium Sanctorum ad Papas Iacentium, l. 10-11 (Ferrua, p. 120), he declares: Here, I admit, I, Damasus, wished to lay my limbs to rest, but I feared to disturb the holy ashes of the saints, *indicating that he once wished to have as his tomb the chamber of the Popes in the cemetery of Callistus. His own epitaph, No. 12, Epitaphius sui ipsius (Ferrua, p. 112) contains only a simple expression of belief:* For I believe that Christ [*Who has power to restore life*] will cause Damasus to rise again after his death.

Another group of poems testifies to the interest which Damasus took in the martyrs and their tombs and which can be traced back even to his childhood, as he indicates in No. 28, Elogium Ss. Marcellini et Petri, l. 1-2 (Ferrua, p. 161): Marcellinus, your executioner related the story of your own burial and that of Peter to me, Damasus, in my boyhood. *In the majority of the inscriptions of this type a summary of the sufferings of the martyr or words of praise for his virtues are combined with a note stating that Damasus had ordered these lines to be carved on the tomb or containing a request for the saint's intercession. The following examples may be cited:*

No. 7, Elogium Ss. Felicis et Adauctus, l. 6-7 *(Ferrua, p. 99):* At the direction of Bishop Damasus, the priest Verus prepared a tomb for them, adorning [*with an inscription*] the threshold of the saints' home.

No. 8, Elogium Ss. Nerei et Achillei, l. 9 *(Ferrua, p. 103):* Believe, through Damasus' words, the power of Christ's glory.

No. 15, Elogium S. Tarsicii, l. 1-2 *(Ferrua, p. 117):* Reader, learn the like virtue of two martyrs to whom Bishop Damasus offers this inscription to commemorate the reward that they have received from Christ.

No. 18, Elogium S. Eusebii Papae *(Ferrua, p. 131): in prose, before the first line of the verse inscription:* Bishop Damasus made these verses; *following the last line of verse:* for Eusebius, bishop and martyr.

No. 20, In Basilica Apostolorum, l. 7 *(Ferrua, p. 142):* Damasus sings in these lines your praises, O new stars [*in paradise*].

No. 24, St. Januarius *(Ferrua, p. 152):* [*in prose*] Made for the most blessed martyr Januarius by Bishop Damasus.

No. 25, Elogium Ss. Felicissimi et Agapiti *(Ferrua, p. 154): a line of prose following the verse inscription:* Made for the holy Martyrs Felicissimus and Agapitus by Bishop Damasus.

No. 31, Elogium S. Tiburtii, l. 5 *(Ferrua, p. 165):* Gracious Tiburtius, dear to God, protect Damasus, I beg.

No. 32, Elogium Gorgonii Martyris *(Ferrua, p. 166): The verse inscription is followed by the words:* by Bishop Damasus.

No. 33, S. Laurentio Martyri, l. 3-4 *(Ferrua, p. 167):* Damasus your client heaps this altar high with his gifts, contemplating the virtue of the noble martyr.

No. 35, Elogium S. Hippolyti, l. 8 *(Ferrua, p. 171):* Damasus relates these details as he heard them, but Christ discerns [*the truth or falsehood*] of every tale.

No. 37, Elogium S. Agnetis, l. 10 *(Ferrua, p. 176):* Glorious martyr, befriend Damasus with your prayers, I beg.

No. 39, Elogium Ss. Felicis et Philippi, l. 10 *(Ferrua, p. 179):* With these verses Damasus your client wished to fulfill his vows.

No. 40, Elogium Marcelli Papae, l. 7-8 *(Ferrua, p. 181):* Damasus wished to relate briefly the details which he had learned, so that the people might be better aware of Marcellus' virtues.

No. 44, Elogium S. Mauri, l. 1-4 *(Ferrua, p. 186):* The holy limbs of the martyr Maurus are contained in this tomb which was adorned after the passage of many years by Damasus, the Bishop of the [*Roman*] people, his client, who embellished with greater splendor the boy saint whom no suffering could dismay.

No. 46, Elogium S. Saturnini, l. 11-12 *(Ferrua, p. 189):* This is the voice of Damasus, the client [*of Saturninus*]; revere [*the martyr's*] tomb. . . . I fulfill my vows to you, martyr Saturninus. *The verse inscription is accompanied by the words:* Bishop Damasus, the servant of God, who reveres the most blessed martyrs.

No. 48, Elogium S. Hermetis, l. 5 *(Ferrua, p. 195):* Glorious martyr, be favorable to the prayers of Damasus, I beg.

No. 50, Elogium Marci, l. 7 *(Ferrua, p. 201):* . . . and when Damasus offers you an inscription as a mark of honor.

Two other inscriptions illustrate Damasus' diligence in searching for the bodies of the martyrs:

No. 21, Elogium S. Eutychii, l. 9-12 *(Ferrua, p. 146):* In the drowsy night, sleeplessness troubles the mind: he [*Eutychius*] points out the hiding place which conceals his blessed body; he is sought, found, venerated; and he protects [*his clients*] and obtains all their wishes. Damasus has bidden [*the faithful*] to pay honor to the tomb as is his due.

No. 47, Elogium Ss. Proti et Hyacinthi, l. 1-2 *(Ferrua, p. 192):* Their burial place lay hidden in the depths of the massive mountain; Damasus showed that it held the bodies of saints.

No. 41, Ss. Vitali, Martiali et Alexandro Martyribus *(Ferrua, p. 182), an inscription of Pope Vigilius replacing an older one which had been destroyed by the Goths in 537, attests to a similar discovery by Damasus:* . . . they [*the Goths*] with irreverent intent destroyed the tombs once duly consecrated to the holy ones whom Pope Damasus, guided by God, proved to be martyrs, and whom he ordered the faithful to venerate, affixing an inscription in the place.

His zeal for preserving the tombs of the martyrs from injury is demonstrated by No. 3, Ad Fontes S. Petri *(Ferrua, p. 92):* The waters were surrounding the surface of the mountain and as they seeped far beneath they were wetting the bodies, the bones, and ashes of many of the dead. Damasus would not permit them . . . to be subject once again to a harsh penalty after they had been laid to rest. Promptly he set out to achieve a ponderous task. He lowered the top of the mountain's huge mass, and, carefully exploring the inmost depths of the earth, he dried whatever the water had moistened and discovered the fountain which confers the gift of salvation.

MARGARET ANN NORTON

AURELIUS PRUDENTIUS CLEMENS

A Biographical Study

Ruth Ellis Messenger

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Introductory

In the account which follows, the organization of the sources employed by Bergman is expanded by the introduction of critical comment supplied by authors cited above. The actual data are derived almost exclusively from the *Praefatio* or Prologue to the *Liber Cathemerinon.* Subordinate data appear in scattered references in other works of the poet, chiefly the *Liber Peristephanon.* Upon the testimony of the poet himself, an autobiography has been constructed by commentators, the nature and adequacy of which may best be judged by the reader.

Praefatio

As edited by Bergman, the *Praefatio* consists of 60 lines, in 15 four-line stanzas. A prose translation follows:

1. *I have lived for fifty years now, if I mistake not, and in addition, the year for the seventh time has completed its cycle, while I have enjoyed the revolving sun.*

2. *The end is at hand, and by God's will old age is drawing near. What have I done that is worthwhile, in all these years?*

3. *In childhood I wept under the schoolmaster's rod. Then the toga trained me in the deceitful arts of rhetoric to plead falsehoods, not without guilt.*

4. *Then a period of defiant indulgence in sin and daring excesses,—alas, to my shame and sorrow—defiled my youth with the dregs and mire of evil.*

5. *Thereafter, my aggressive spirit took up arms in the strife of the courts and a stubborn desire for conquest subjected me to painful falls (or failures).*

6. *Twice, in administering the laws, I held the reins of government over noble cities. I restored the civil law to the innocent and was a terror to evil doers.*

7. *Finally, the gratitude (or beneficence) of the prince advanced me in military rank and singled me out for promotion, bidding me to take my official station closest to himself.*

8. *Now while the swift-passing years have been occupied with these matters, suddenly the gray hairs of old age have stolen upon me, reminding me of Salia, consul of old, whom I had forgotten.*

9. *My white hair proves how many winters have passed since my natal day in his consulship, and how many times the roses have been restored to the meadows after the ice.*

10. *Will such things, either good or evil, benefit me after the destruction of the flesh, when death shall have blotted out whatever I was?*

11. *I must say to myself: Whoever thou art, thy mind has lost the things of the world which meant so much. What it desired are not the things of God, to Whom you will belong.*

12. *And at the end may my sinful soul cast off its folly; at least let it praise God with the voice, if it cannot praise Him with good deeds.*

13. *Let the day be spent in hymns and let not the night be devoid of praising the Lord in song. Let it (my voice) war against heresies, and expound the Catholic faith.*

14. *Let my words stamp out thy pagan cults, and bring ruin, O Rome, to thy idols. Let my voice consecrate its song to the martyrs and praise the apostles.*

15. *Would that I may break the fetters of the flesh in the very act of writing or speaking, and depart a free spirit, whither my last words shall bear me.*

Date of Birth, Stanzas 1, 2, 8, 9

Prudentius, writing in the year 405 A. D., tells us that he was born fifty-seven years previously, dating his birth in 348 when Salia, with Philippus, were consuls.

During the decade in which this event occurred, 340-350, the sons of Constantine the Great, Constans and Constantius, shared the control of the empire, the former ruling Thrace, Egypt and the Orient, the latter, Spain, Gaul and Britain (three provinces originally held by Constantine II), Africa, Italy and Illyricum. Although the unity of the empire was maintained until the death of Theodosius, 395, disintegrating forces were at work throughout the lifetime of Prudentius who saw the division of the empire in 395 although he probably did not live to mourn the capture of Rome by the Visigoths in 410. As a matter of fact, the date of his death is unknown. Christianity had already triumphed over paganism as a state religion when he was born. With the exception of the reign of Julian, 360-363, who attempted to restore the old faith, his lifetime was a period of progress for Christianity and for himself, of association with Christian leadership both in the ecclesiastical and political spheres. At the very threshold of this study, as one recalls the historical background

of the period, the importance of reading between the lines of the *Praefatio* becomes clear. Prudentius, who omits far more than he recounts of his life story, was born a citizen of twofold allegiance, to Rome and to Spain,—the implications of which are increasingly apparent as his autobiography unfolds.

Place of Birth

There seems never to have been any doubt that Prudentius was born in Spain, although a definite statement to that effect is totally lacking. Speaking of Rome and her martyrs, from his own homeland, he says:

Pe II, 537-548.

Iberian Vasconia separates us, far removed from the double Alpine ranges, across the peaks of the Cottian Alps and across the snowy Pyrenees.

Scarcely is the tradition known of how Rome abounds in buried saints and how her urban soil richly flowers with holy sepulchers.

But we who lack these blessings nor can behold the marks of bloodshed yet gaze upon heaven from afar.

This passage, together with his interest in the northern cities of the peninsula, have inclined his biographers to the belief that he was a native of the Province of Hispania Tarraconensis (Arevalo, *MPL, LIX, 591;* Gams, p. 337). A conflict of opinion, however, arises as to the city of his birth, whether Saragossa, Calahorra or Tarragona,—to arrange them in the accepted order of probability. Citations from the author's poems which appear to be relevant to the discussion, follow:

SARAGOSSA

Pe IV, 1-4.

Our people preserve in one tomb the ashes of the martyrs, twice nine in number; Saragossa we name the city whose renown is so great.

Pe IV, 97-100.

The victor is ours, although, having suffered far hence in an unknown city, he conferred the glory of his tomb upon the strand of lofty Saguntum.

Pe IV, 197-8.

Bow thyself down wholly with me, O city so rich in the tombs of the martyrs.

Calahorra

Pe IV, 31-2.

Our Calahorra will spread the fame of both whom we honor.

Tarragona

Pe VI, 143-148.

O triple honor, O triune fame, by which the head of our city is raised high above all the Iberian cities.

Pe VI, 150.

Praise your martyr Fructuosus. (Tarraco here is not *noster.*)

Pe VI, 160-3.

And perchance the sweet rhythms of my verse will be deemed by the mercy of Christ a fitting offering and relief for my torments. (Prudentius pleads for the intercession of Fructuosus.)

Valerian (Saragossa)

Pe IV, 80.

Here the honored house of the priests of the name of Valerius (Saragossa).

Pe XI, 179-80, 233ff.

That I rejoice in my return, that I am privileged, honored priest, to embrace thee, that I write these very words (I know that I owe to Hippolytus, etc.).

. . . according to ancient custom, whose feast I would wish that you also, reverend master, number among the annual festivals (of Saragossa).

Pe XI, 243-246.

So, finally, may you, zealous shepherd, receive me, weakling member of your flock, as a lamb in your green pastures. So may it be, until you shall have gathered into the fold all the milk-white lambs, and yourself been taken up on high to be a companion of holy Hippolytus.

Pe XI, 2.

I beheld, O Valerian, consecrated of Christ . . . (as Bishop of Saragossa).

Prudentius uses the possessive *noster* in speaking of all three cities but the term is hardly decisive by itself. The word may not be an editorial plural, meaning "my" but a term applied to the people of the city, of whom he is one. It might also be applied to a man's place of residence. In any case, *noster* does not necessarily imply a birthplace. Supporting evidence is essential to prove the validity of any one of the three choices.

Arguing from the poet's gentile name, *Clemens,* it has been noted that this gens was associated with Saragossa (Dressel, p. iii). Again, Saragossa is most frequently mentioned by the poet, from which circumstance, a longer residence and a more intimate knowledge has been inferred (Puech, p. 43). Perhaps Prudentius was born elsewhere but made his home in Saragossa (Gams, p. 341).

At this point, the importance of Prudentius' references to Valerian, cited above, becomes evident. Some of the most distinguished scholars and students of the life and work of Prudentius have believed that Valerian was, in actuality, the Bishop of Saragossa (Bardy, Bergman, Gams, Leclercq, Riber, Rodriguez-Herrera, Weyman, and so forth). Others, as early as the Renaissance, began to question this position and have asserted that Calahorra, as the see of Valerian, should receive the additional weight of this evidence (Nicolas Antonio, Perez Bayer, Alamo, Altaner, Madoz). Which then, was the bishopric of Valerian who was no doubt that "Father in God" to whom Prudentius owed allegiance? It must be admitted, however, that to establish this point is not equivalent to proving the birthplace of Prudentius; it merely offers supporting evidence for whichever choice is made.

To repeat, especially for readers of FOLIA, the data presented by Father Madoz in his article on this subject, "Valerian, Bishop of Calahorra" (*Spring Issue,* 1951), would be superfluous. Closely argued and buttressed by sources both original and secondary, his account recognizes the views of writers on all sides of this question and leaves no room for further comment, on the evidence at present available.

Tarragona, the third choice, may be dismissed as of little importance. The citations from the hymn in honor of Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius are not convincing by themselves, although Tarragona, being the capital of the province, may gain supporters for this reason. It should not be overlooked that an exception occurs in *Pe VI, 150* where the martyr is said to be *vestrum,* not *nostrum.*

Throughout the centuries, discussion of the birthplace of Prudentius has been kept alive by writers who have found speculation upon this tantalizing subject, as others have pondered upon the birthplace of Homer, too tempting to be ignored. On the whole, Saragossa has been most favored even by the would-be neutrals. Calahorra has undoubtedly gained contemporary support but the birthplace of Prudentius is still unknown.

Education

Stanza 3 of the *Praefatio* reveals the normal education of the day in the schools for children and youth which flourished in the western provinces in the fourth century. Schools of rhetoric, the curriculum of which is well known, laid the foundation for that knowledge of the Roman classics which Prudentius betrayed in all his writings. As a training for public life, they furnished the provincial lad with his forensic resources.

Family

Prudentius recalls in the *Apotheosis* an incident of this period, a heathen sacrifice during the reign of Julian, 360-363, when he must have been thirteen to sixteen years of age.

Apotheosis, 449-459.

Of all these princes, not one excepted, I remember, in my boyhood, that leader, valiant in arms, a founder of the laws, far-famed in word and action, counsellor of the state but not of its established worship, preferring three hundred thousand pagan gods; disloyal was he to God but loyal to the world. (I recall) how he bowed his august head before the feet of Minerva and kissed the sandals of an earthen Juno, fell prostrate before the feet of Hercules, covered with waxen tablets the knees of Diana, nay, even bent his forehead before the plaster image of Apollo or censed the horse of Pollux with the glowing embers of the sacrificial entrails.

At the time of writing this account, perhaps forty years later, he may have contributed something of his mature conviction to the youthful Prudentius, but there is no question that he felt the normal reaction of one born and reared in a Christian family. Nowhere does he refer to conversion nor rejoice in a new faith, having repudiated the old (Puech, pp. 45-6; Boissier, p. 124). No more convincing evidence on this point is needed by Gams, historian of the Church of Spain, than that of Prudentius' works, which, in his opinion, could not have been produced at the age of fifty-seven without a prior Christian life and experience (p. 343).

Not only is his family assumed to have been Christian but one of wealth and perhaps aristocracy, on the basis of the education he enjoyed,—a preparation for a life of culture and public service (Bardy, col. 1076; Allard, *Prudence historien,* p. 347).

Youthful Experience

Viewed in retrospect, the sins of his youth apparently lie heavy upon the spirit of the poet (Stanza 4). Gams and others dismiss his confession as a conventional expression, following the model of St. Augustine and Cyprian and Tertullian. Leclercq looks upon it, not so much in this light as an outburst of exaggeration, characteristic of a poet who, in many passages, colors his writings with passion and violent realism. In all fairness, it must be said that this sense of sin is expressed elsewhere in other situations and in terms not lacking in sincerity.

Pe X, 1136-1140.

I would wish as I stand among the goats, on the left hand, as I shall, that I might be seen from afar and that the almighty king might say, hearing the supplication of Romanus, "Romanus pleads for thee. Let this goat take his place at my right hand and be clothed in the fleece of a lamb."

One may perhaps consider these words as he addresses St. Romanus a poetic dramatization but the mood of repentance in *Pe II,* supplicating St. Laurence, and especially in *Pe XIV,* St. Agnes, seems genuine.

Pe II, 573-77.

Among these, thou ornament of Christ, give ear to a rustic poet confessing the sins of the heart and admitting his evil deeds.

Pe XIV, 130.

I will be purified by the fire of thy supplicating word, if thou wilt fill my heart.

With these should be read at least the concluding words of the *Hamartigenia* where the poet has discovered the harmony and balance between a sense of sin and its counterpart, a sense of divine mercy.

Hamartigenia, 933-37.

I am guided with Thee to direct me, I live my life with Thee as leader, I tremble and grow pale with Thee as judge, but with Thee, that same judge, I have hope that whatever I do will be forgivable in Thy sight, however unworthy of forgiveness may be my act and speech.

I confess my guilt. Dismiss me joyful from Thy presence and spare a penitent!

Public Career

Stanzas 5, 6 and 7 of the *Praefatio* introduce the reader to a public career opening in the local courts of law and closing in the imperial household.

The words "to plead falsehoods" *(falso loqui)* in Stanza 3, which may be and have been understood in a subversive sense, are interpreted by Bayle to indicate only the training in debate and the ability to speak for or against the point in question which is involved in the lawyer's function (Bayle, p. 35). That Prudentius sometimes over-reached himself in these legal battles is frankly admitted. Or perhaps this is also poetic exaggeration. The fact remains that advancement must have come early in the form of administrative position.

To rule noble cities, meaning individual cities, is a translation of Stanza 6 *(frenos nobilium reximus urbium)* which has been commonly rejected. In an empire of city-states, it is interpreted as provincial rule, held for two different periods (Bardy, 1076).

Once more, Prudentius does not name the province of which he was twice governor but it may have been Tarraconensis (Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters.* Leipzig, 1889, p. 252). If admitted, this theory unifies the life, career and writings of the poet into one consistent whole and is tempting for this, if for no other reason.

Whether or not a period of military service in the Roman army is indicated by the term *militia,* Stanza 7, is a question which has been very generally answered in the negative. It is affirmed, however, by Dressel, whose position among students and editors of Prudentius commands attention. In the complete absence of any statements whatsoever on this subject, Dressel deduces from a study of the *Psychomachia,* with its dramatic and vivid scenes of spiritual warfare, a practical knowledge and experience of military strategy and conflict in the field (*Prolegomena,* p. iv).

On the other hand, *militia,* as understood in the fourth century, may indicate a civil rank (Puech, p. 49). *Militia palatina* may mean an army of imperial functionaries (Allard, *supra,* p. 351). This view is consistent with the statement that he was promoted to high rank in the court of the emperor who is assumed to have been Theodosius (Bardy, 1076).

Various official ranks have been discussed in this connection in the attempt to identify his exact position: *vir clarissimus,* a senatorial title which appears in manuscript sources and *comes* which is commonly attributed to him (Allard, *supra,* p. 352). *Vicarius* has also been suggested (Bayle, p. 37). Of these, the title *comes primi ordinis* has gained acceptance as the most probable. It is consistent with the Theodosian Code (Allard, *supra,* p. 352). For a competent discussion of the official ranks in this period, see J. S. Reid, "Reorganization of the Empire," *Cambridge Medieval History, I. Ch. II, pp. 46-8.*

Writings

Prudentius, writing in the period of his retirement from public life, continues in the *Praefatio* to record the motives which have inspired his literary work and the themes which have absorbed his creative powers. Devoting almost half of his autobiography to this purpose, he discloses not only what is nearest to his heart but the facts concerning his life, most vital to pos-

terity. Data upon other matters have proved in the course of centuries to be of little or no importance, compared to the central role played by Prudentius, that of the greatest Christian poet of his era.

Describing his lyric and didactic works, Prudentius singles out what seems most significant to himself but his brief mention must be supplemented by our knowledge of the works themselves, as follows: the *Liber Cathemerinon,* a collection of hymns for certain hours of the day and night; the *Apotheosis,* a refutation of heresies and a defense of the Divinity of Christ and of Trinitarian doctrine; the *Hamartigenia,* a treatment of the origin of sins, together with a refutation of the Marcionite heresy; the *Liber Peristephanon,* a collection of lengthy hymns in honor of the martyrs; *Contra Symmachum,* an attack on paganism and the heathen cults. Writing therefore, in 405, Prudentius had evidently not yet edited his remaining works, the *Psychomachia,* an allegory of spiritual struggle, and the *Dittochaeon,* a series of brief descriptions of 49 biblical scenes from the Old and New Testaments. All his writings must have been made public after 392, since St. Jerome would have mentioned, presumably, the poet, with any works of an earlier date in his *De viris illustribus,* which was written in that year (Bergman, p. xiv).

Gennadius of Marseilles, the continuator of Jerome's work, writing about 100 years later, enumerates the writings of Prudentius as follows: Gennadius, Presbyter Massiliensis, 492. *De viris inlustribus, MPL, vol. LVIII, col. 1068.*

> *Prudentius, a man learned in secular literature, composed the Dittochaeon, describing characters selected from the whole of the Old and New Testament. Also, he composed his Hexaemeron in the manner of the Greeks, concerning the creation of the world up to the situation of the first man and his deceit. He composed also works to which he gave Greek titles, Apotheosis, Psychomachia, Hamartigenia: that is, concerning the Divinity, spiritual struggle, and the origin of sins. And he wrote in praise of the martyrs, some by name, one book as an invitation to martyrdom, and the other, a book of hymns. Then, with a specific purpose, he wrote against Symmachus, the defender of idolatry: from the evidence of which he is acknowledged to have been a miles Palatinus.*

This list includes a work on the creation which is entirely lacking in the Prudentian codices and is unknown from any other source. Genadius is assumed by critics to have been in error and to have confused the work of some other author with that of Prudentius.

The order of appearance of his books, if Prudentius actually intended to enumerate them in any such order, differs from that of Gennadius. The order of the *Praefatio* is *Cathemerinon, Apotheosis, Hamartigenia, Contra Symmachum, Peristephanon; Psychomachia* and *Dittochaeon* being omitted. Gennadius prefers *Dittochaeon, Apotheosis, Psychomachia, Hamartigenia, Peristephanon, Cathemerinon, Contra Symmachum.* Again, attempts have been made to establish the true chronology by internal and other evidence associated with the writings themselves, but the testimony of the *Praefatio* is considered basic in this discussion (Manitius, p. 63).

Speculation concerning a possible *Hexaemeron* suggests the further query: Did Prudentius at any time of his life compose other poetic works, perhaps profane, as well as sacred? If so, they are unknown today. Again, the complete silence of literary historians and the absence of literary evidence as to their existence would imply their destruction by the poet himself (Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne,* p. 131).

In *Pe II, 574,* quoted above, Prudentius refers to himself as *poeta rusticus,* a rustic poet. This attitude, whether indicating conventional modesty or not, is found elsewhere in his writings. His invocation to Romanus resembles an address to a pagan muse to inspire his work and may mean nothing more. On the other hand, in the same hymn he later expresses a truly Christian confidence.

Pe X, 1-5, 21-2.

O Romanus, fearless advocate of Christ the Lord, inspire with thy favor my mute lips, bestow the gift of polished verse upon the most inarticulate of men, that I may celebrate in song the marvels of thy praise. For thou knowest that even the dumb can declare them.

I am mute but Christ who is mighty in eloquence, will speak burning words with my tongue.

The following words from *Contra Symmachum* appear to be a genuine appraisal:

S I, 643-7.

I do not fear that anyone will charge me with over-confidence and think that I am struggling in the throes of genius. I myself am mindful of my own limitations and I recognize my pitiful efforts. I would not venture to match nor challenge with my unpolished words, the hurtling arrows of such distinguished speech. (Cicero's?)

S II, Praefatio, 44-60.

Thus my loquacious tongue bears me, emerging from the safety of silence, into uncertain perils. . . .

In the *Epilogus* to the *Cathemerinon,* he describes his poetry in the phrase, *pedestre carmen,* "prosaic song," in keeping with the thought that, since he has neither holiness nor wealth to offer, he can give only his verse.

Visit to Rome

Although Prudentius does not allude to his travels to Rome in the *Praefatio,* it is clear that he regarded his visit or visits to the center of his political and religious allegiance, perhaps the outstanding experience of his life. The martyr hymn honoring Cassianus, *Pe IX*; the hymn addressed to Valerian, *Pe XI*; and the hymn celebrating SS. Peter and Paul, *Pe XII,* were written after his return. While in the city itself, he observed the feast of SS. Peter and Paul in June and must have remained for that of St. Hippolytus in August (Allard, *supra,* p. 351). He went by land to Rome (Gams, pp. 342-3) pausing at the shrine of Cassianus at Imola.

Pe IX, 306.

At this place, when I was on my way to thee, O Rome, greatest in all things, my hope arose that Christ would favor me. I fell prostrate upon the ground before the tomb which holds in honor the body of the holy Cassianus.

After his return he speaks of the double feast of SS. Peter and Paul.

Pe XII, 65-6

It is enough for thee to have learned these things of Rome; at home once more, remember to revere the day of twofold festival.

Addressing the Bishop Valerian, Prudentius says:

Pe XI, 1-4, 7-16.

I saw in Rome the burial places of countless saints. You ask me what titles were carved on their tombs and the individual names. It is difficult to say. . . . Many tombs which have inscriptions bear the name of a martyr, or some epitaph but the stones which inclose these silent burial places are mute except for the number of the dead. How many unknown dead lie crowded there, no man can tell. I recall that someone told me there were sixty bodies in one grave, of whose names only Christ has knowledge since he has taken them to friendship with himself.

He urges the Bishop to establish the feast of St. Hippolytus in his diocese.

Pe XI, 231-234, 243-246.

If I remember rightly, Rome, fairest of cities, honors him on the Ides of August, as the day is called in ancient custom, whose feast I would wish that you also, reverend master, number among the annual festivals.

So, finally, may you, zealous shepherd, receive me, weakling member of your flock, as a lamb in your green pastures. So may it be, until you shall have gathered into the fold all the milk-white lambs, and yourself been taken up on high to be a companion of holy Hippolytus.

The motives for the poet's sojourn in Rome are clear in part. Pope St. Damasus had stimulated the interest of Christendom in the Roman martyrs and had himself composed metrical inscriptions for their tombs, seeking to identify and mark the places of their martyrdom. That much remained to be done, Prudentius bears witness, as he recounts his experience to Valerian.

Other motives of an official nature may have been present. Noting that Prudentius mentions two governorships, Allard conjectures that his tenure may have been uncertain or that he may have been removed from office and subsequently restored, the Roman episode taking place in the interval (*supra,* 350-1). Some crisis in his personal life is indicated by his emotion at the shrine of Cassianus where he seeks the intercession of the saint for the success of his journey (Puech, p. 59).

Assuming an imperial summons, what emperor was in Rome to receive him? Puech, the classic commentator on Prudentius, who was interested in the contemporary setting, points out that Honorius was present in Rome in 404 (p. 60). This may be approximately correct, as critics have apparently settled upon the years 401-403 for the Roman visit with the return journey in 404 (Bergman, p. xvii). The Spanish writer, Vives, solves the difficulty otherwise, by positing two trips to Rome, the first as an official, perhaps as early as 390-395, and the second, as a pilgrim and penitent, in harmony with the expressions of the poet in the *Praefatio* (p. 12).

Indirect testimony to the Roman visit has been derived by some from certain scenes described in the *Dittochaeon,* which were at that period known to decorate the catacombs, for example, Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden (No. I). At the same time such paintings were characteristic of the decoration of Christian churches of Prudentius' day and therefore his originals cannot be located in any one place (Brockhaus, p. 269). The evidence from the *Dittochaeon* tends to be more archeological than biographical and too slight by itself to be wholly relevant.

Little more may be said of the life of Prudentius from his own testimony except that in the *Epilogus* to the *Cathemerinon* he describes himself as humble in spirit and poor in worldly goods.

Ep. 7-10, 25-28.

I consecrate my swift-moving iambics and my rolling trochaics. I am wanting in saintliness and in the means to relieve the poor.

In His father's house, as a cast-off vessel, Christ fits me for humble use and grants me a place in some corner.

One should not read either the *Praefatio* or the *Epilogus* with the critical standards of a scientific biographer. They are the words of a poet, conventional perhaps, but still in a poetic medium.

Later Sources for the Life of Prudentius

Later writers have testified to the reality and influence of the poet's life and writings, as follows:

Sidonius Apollinaris, Bishop of Auvergne, 482, *Epist. II, 9, MPL, Vol. LVIII, Col. 484.*

Books in abundance were at hand—for henceforth, men of comparable knowledge were eagerly read, for instance, Augustine, Varro, Horace and Prudentius.

Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, 494, *Poematum de Mosaicae Historiae Gestis, Liber VI, Ad Fuscinam,* lines 412-4. *MPL, Vol. LIX, Col. 375-6.*

Prudentius, describing the might of virtue, the rewards of such a conflict, prudently sang the manifold struggles of spirit and the flesh.

Venantius Fortunatus, 6th C., *De vita S. Martini, I, lines 18-9. MPL, Vol. LXXXVIII, Col. 366.*

The prudent Prudentius prudently celebrates the acts of the holy martyrs, offering to them these sacred gifts.

The testimony of Notker Balbulus, ninth century, has been added, although it is somewhat late for this study.

Notatio de illustribus viris, MPL, Vol. CXXXI, Col. 1000.

If however, you are looking for poetical works, the fables of the pagans are not essential to you. But you have in Christianity Prudentius, the most prudent, singing in sweetest measures of the beginning of the world, the martyrs, the praise of God, and the Fathers of the New and Old Testament; setting forth in the fairest accents, the figurative conflict of virtues and vices; and finally, battling most fiercely with heretics and pagans.

The *Chronicle of Pseudo-Dexter* was formerly considered a valid source for the life of Prudentius, with entries for the years 388, 396 and 424. Modern scholarship has rejected the evidence, identifying the author as Hieronymo de Higuera, 1539-1611 (Bergman, pp. viii-ix).

Place of Prudentius in the Christian Perpetuation of the Classics

As a Christian humanist Prudentius has been lauded by critics from the period of the Renaissance to the present day. Beginning in his youth, with a training in the schools of rhetoric, he must have pursued the study and reading of the classics throughout his life. Nebrissensis, who edited his works in the sixteenth century, pointed out the classical reflections in the *Praefatio*. At the modern end of the list, E. K. Rand summed up the spirit of his writings as the "finest expression of Christian humanism that had appeared in poetry" (p. 83).

Detailed investigations of his indebtedness to specific Latin authors have been enumerated in the bibliography above. Virgil, Horace, Seneca and Ovid were apparently his greatest masters.

As a Christian poet his influence was enormous and widespread. This is proved by the early diffusion and considerable number of the manuscripts. A Prudentian manuscript survives from the first half of the sixth century. By the seventh century the number of manuscripts was greatly increased and in the ninth century they were to be found everywhere throughout the monastic world. Many manuscripts, especially in Germany, were enriched by glosses in the vernacular, while the early illuminated codices exceeded in number those of any other author. It is remarkable that 300 from the total number of Prudentian manuscripts are in existence today (Winstedt, p. 204).

As a metrical model, Prudentius illustrated a large variety of classical meters, suitable to his lyric and didactic writings, which have warranted special study and treatment. In this feature, he was freely imitated by later poets who continued to pass on the antique poetical models as well as the references to classical subject matter.

His successors generously appropriated his work in the form of imitations, adaptations and centos, the medieval hymn writers in particular being indebted to this source. Notker Balbulus, who has already testified in his own words to his admiration for

Prudentius, illustrates how a medieval enthusiast for the classics used in his own sequences the Prudentian reconciliation of pagan and Christian concepts. H. J. Thompson, the most recent translator in English of the *Cathemerinon,* remarks that Prudentius went almost too far in representing the Almighty as *Jupiter Tonans* (p. ix) but the idea appealed to Notker or perhaps an imitator of his work who perpetuated it in a sequence for the Resurrection, *Laudes Salvatori voce modulemur supplici.*

Strophe 21 *Astra, solum, mare*
iucundentur,
et cuncti
gratulentur
in caelis spiritales chori

Strophe 22 *Tonanti.* *(Anal. Hymn. 53.66.)*

The part played by Prudentius in the poetical development of the saint's legend has never been adequately studied although it constitutes a most important phase in the evolution of this literature. The martyr poems of Prudentius crystallize the legend at the stage which had been reached at that time in narrating the life and passion of a saint. In a special study, *Lives of St. Agnes* (Cambridge, Harvard Un. Press, 1938), A. J. Denomy, C.S.B., observes that *Pe XIV,* honoring St. Agnes, was apparently written after Prudentius' journey to Rome and that it undoubtedly conveys what was known at that date or thought to have occurred in connection with her martyrdom.

In the case of St. Agnes, as of other saints, the account takes on the features of the poetic romances based on the legend, so popular in the Middle Ages. Prudentius was the forerunner and inspiration of these later poets (Manitius, p. 96). In the field of Christian allegory he was equally a pioneer, creating in his *Psychomachia* a model for the conflict of virtues and vices as depicted in medieval literature and art.

Prudentius, preoccupied with the cultivation of his own devotional life, wrote for the nurture of the spiritual life in others. His hymns may never have been sung during his own lifetime but the *Cathemerinon* and *Peristephanon* later became a treasury of hymns sung by countless worshipers. The Spanish liturgists in-

corporated thirty-seven of his hymns, either as a whole or in part, into the Mozarabic Breviary (*Analecta hymnica medii aevi,* 27). He is represented in the present-day Roman Breviary and in the hymnaries of many Christian churches.

Prudentius, Spanish or Roman?

No one may close the pages which contain the writings of Prudentius without questioning "Was he Spanish or Roman?" Respecting those inner qualities of personality and character, Prudentius has been judged a Spaniard. He possessed the hardiness and often the harshness, the relentless realism, the mystical insight and the unyielding loyalty of the Spaniard, as we observe these traits in the saints and leaders of Spain throughout her history. He loved intensely the scenes and cities of his native province and gave her impartial justice as a governor. He was in his own career and opportunities a product of the era of peace and progress which followed the persecutions of Diocletian and the religious settlement after Constantine. He flourished in the harmony of Church and State in Spain. *Hispanos Deus aspicit benignus (Pe VI, 4)* are the words of a man who in modern thinking would be judged an uncompromising nationalist.

In all this, his devotion to the martyrs of Spain has been considered most indicative of his true feeling, his most Spanish expression (Leclercq, p. 148). Here in the very center of his religious allegiance may be found a reflection of his devotion to the saints of Rome.

On the political side, Rome still represented an imperial control. Political duty may have called him to the seat of government which to a Roman governor meant the place of highest authority, although Rome had suffered a loss of political prestige after the shift of government to Constantinople. However diminished or rivaled by other capitals, she remained supreme as a center of religious unity in spite of barbarian hosts which infiltrated the West and threatened her temporal realm. Could we decide whether Prudentius was a Roman imperialist or not, it would not greatly matter. Rome, for Prudentius was, first of all, the center of Christianity. "C'est ainsi que Prudence entendait être romain sans cesser d'être espagnol" (Leclercq, p. 143).

MARTIN OF BRAGA

Claude W. Barlow

All references to the text of Martin's works follow the chapters and lines in the latest edition:

Barlow, Claude W., *Martini Episcopi Bracarensis Opera Omnia,* New Haven, 1950 (cited as *MEB*).

The following works are referred to most frequently:

Bickel, E., "Die Schrift des Martinus von Bracara," *Rheinisches Museum,* LX, 1905, 505-551.

Caspari, C. P., *Martin von Bracara's Schrift De Correctione Rusticorum,* Christiania, 1883.

Contador de Argote, J., *Memorias para a historia ecclesiastica do arcebispado de Braga, Lisbon,* 1732-47, III, 442-450.

Florez, Henrique, *España sagrada,* 2d ed., Madrid, 1787, Vol. XV.

Migne, J. P., *Patrologiae Latinae cursus completus,* Vols. LXXII, LXXIII, LXXXIV (cited as *MPL*).

Other works containing important texts and commentary are:

Almeida, Fortunato de, *Historia da igreja em Portugal,* Coimbra, 1910, Vol. I.

Barlow, Claude W., "The Literary Heritage of Spain: 350-600 A. D.," Folia, I, 1946, 101-113.

Brandao, Caetano, *Collecçao de canones ordenada por S. Martinho Bracarense,* Lisbon, 1803.

Brandao, Caetano, *Vida e opusculos de S. Martinho Bracarense,* Lisbon, 1803.

Cunha, Rodrigo da, *Historia ecclesiastica dos arcebispos de Braga e dos santos . . .,* Braga, 1634-35.

Menéndez Pidal, R., ed., *España visigoda (414-711 de J. C.),* in *Historia de España,* Vol. III, Madrid, 1940.

Oliveira, Miguel de, *Historia eclesiástica de Portugal,* Lisbon, 1940.

Tamayo de Salazar, J., *Anamnesis sive commemoratio omnium sanctorum Hispanorum,* Vol. II, Lugdunum, 1652.

Birth in Pannonia—Visit to Holy Land—Arrival in Spain—Conversion of the Arians:

Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum,* V, 37: Martin was born in Pannonia, and thence hastened to visit the holy places in the Orient, where he was so well trained in literature that he was held second to none in his time.

Martin's own epitaph, *MEB,* p. 283: Born in Pannonia, after crossing huge seas, I came, by divine inspiration, into the embrace of Gallicia.

Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus,* 35: Martin, most holy bishop of the monastery of Dumium, came by ship from the East to Gallicia and there converted the Sueves from the Arian heresy to the Catholic faith, set up a Rule of Faith and of holy religion, established churches, founded monasteries, and composed copious precepts of pious instruction.

Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus s. Martini Turonensis,* I, 11: *After describing at length two embassies which Chararich, king of the Sueves, sent to Tours to obtain relics for the purpose of curing his son's leprosy, Gregory depicts their return to Gallicia in these words:* And so with gratitude after a successful voyage under the protection of their patron they arrived swiftly in the harbor of Gallicia over a tranquil sea, quiet waves, and calm waters, with sails furled. At just that time the blessed Martin, inspired by God, arrived from a far away country at the place where even today he is a bishop. I cannot believe that it was without the aid of a divine providence that he left his own country on the very day when the blessed relics were taken from their source, and that he entered the habor of Galicia at the same moment with them. Receiving these relics with the holiest veneration, the people strengthened the belief in miracles, for the son of the king, completely cured of his illness, ran down to meet them. The blessed Martin received the blessings of episcopal grace. The king confessed the unity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and was baptized with all his household. The contamination of leprosy was driven out of the people, all the infirm were cured, and the illness of leprosy has never since returned to anyone there. Such grace did the Lord grant at the arrival of the relics of their blessed patron that it would take much too long to recount all the miracles which were performed there on that day.

ORDAINED BISHOP:

Actus beati Martini Dumiensis, Contador de Argote, *loc. cit.*: Martin was ordained bishop on the Nones of April in the year 594 of the Spanish era (April 5, 556 A. D.).

CHURCH AT DUMIUM NEAR BRAGA:

Actus beati Martini Dumiensis: The church at Dumium was dedicated in the year 596 of the Spanish era (558 A. D.) *Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum,* V, 37: Martin himself wrote the verses which are inscribed over the portal on the south side of the Basilica of St. Martin.

FIRST COUNCIL OF BRAGA, MAY 1, 561:

Martin was present as Bishop of Dumium and signed his name third in order among the eight bishops in attendance.

SECOND COUNCIL OF BRAGA, JUNE 2, 572:

Martin had become Archbishop of Braga some time between 561 and 572. He presided over the Council and is frequently mentioned in the minutes, which may have been written by him (cf. *MEB,* p. 83).

DEATH:

Actus beati Martini Dumiensis: He held the office of bishop twenty-three years. He died on the twelfth day before the Kalends of April in the year 617 of the Spanish era (March 20, 579). *This entry may be accepted as correct, for it probably represents an exact copy of a note made in an old breviary or in the records of the church at Braga. The year of Martin's death was originally determined by Florez as 580 from Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, V, 37, which is not specific:* At this time the blessed Martin, Bishop of Gallicia, died, causing deep mourning among the people. . . . He spent more than thirty years in that office and departed to the Lord full of virtues.

TESTAMENT:

Tenth Council of Toledo, 656 A. D. (*MPL,* Vol. LXXXIV, col. 449): By the direction of our king Recceswinth through the illustrious Wamba there was referred to us in sacred council the testament of St. Martin of sacred memory, bishop of the church at Braga, who constructed the church at Dumium, as it appears.

The purpose was that it might be unsealed and that we might be informed of the will of this man of blessed memory. When the testament was read in the presence of all, we learned that it was referred to us by the aforementioned king because this same holy man of glorious memory had ordered that, with the accession of each new king, the provisions for carrying out his testament should remain unchanged. *The account reveals only the existence, not the content, of Martin's will, unfortunately.*

Other Testimony:

1. Paschasius, monk of Dumium, prologue to his translation from Greek of the *Vitae Patrum* (*MEB,* p. 294): Paschasius, to the venerable lord and father Martin, presbyter and abbot: When I was requested by you, most holy father, to translate into the Latin language the Lives of the Greek Fathers, which like other learning are assiduously composed, I should have refused this unwonted task, if I could. For I have never produced anything to be written or to be read, prohibited as I am by an inner consciousness of lack of talent. I dare not even say that I know that I know nothing, lest I steal the words from most wise Socrates. But because I must, perforce, obey your command, I shall not boast of my talent; but I shall observe, even in a commanded task, the faith which I owe to you. But because there are many books of eloquent men written in Latin with which I may claim acquaintance, for you have shown them to me, if you happen to find anything inserted here which is either borrowed from them or not too elegantly expressed, I beg you not to impute the blame to me, for I have translated the writings exactly as I found them in the manuscript which was given me; yet I profess I cannot translate them studiously. Hence it remains for me to complete at your entreaty what I began at your command. If you decide that this may be published, I beg you to see fit to polish it with your own words. For I shall not feel that you liked any of it, unless I know that you disliked some of it.

2. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carminum Libri,* V, 1, 2: *Two epistles, one in prose and one in verse, which show that Venantius had received letters from Martin that discussed the Stoic and Peripatetic philosophers, among whom are named Plato, Aristotle, Chrysippus, and Pittacus.*

3. Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus,* 35: I have read his (Martin's) book on the distinctions of the four virtues and another volume of epistles, in which he urges improvement in living, conversion to the faith, constancy in prayer, distribution of alms, and above all cultivation of all the virtues and piety.

4. Sigebert of Gembloux, *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis,* written about 1111 A. D., Chapter 19—Martin, Bishop of Gallicia, wrote a book on the four virtues to Miro, King of Gallicia, which he entitled *Rule for Upright Living.* Chapter 117—Bishop Martin translated in the monastery at Dumium, with the aid of the deacon Paschasius, *Several Questions and Answers of the Holy Fathers of Egypt.*

MANUSCRIPT TRADITION:

Escorial M.III.3, a Visigothic manuscript of the tenth century, contains the only partial corpus of Martin's works. Otherwise, each of the works was copied for its own merits and followed a distinct tradition, which varies from a single sixteenth-century manuscript in the case of the *De Trina Mersione* to more than 600 extant copies of the *Formula Vitae Honestae,* dating from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. The earliest work of St. Martin in a complete manuscript copy is the *De Correctione Rusticorum* in the eighth-century *Kassel, Theol. Q. 10*; but there is an epitomized version of the *Canons* in *Verona LXI (59)* and in *Copenhagen, Ny Kgl. Saml. 58,* both written close to 700 A. D.

EXTANT WORKS:

1. *Sententiae Patrum Aegyptiorum,* or Sayings of the Desert Fathers of Egypt, translated from Greek into Latin by Martin, Bishop of Dumium. The original Greek manuscript must have been carried by Martin when he went from the Orient to Spain. The translator selected from much more extensive material 109 sayings, mostly brief, perhaps intended as a special guide for the monks of Dumium, in the absence of a specific *Regula* or Rule of Monastic Life, which Martin seems never to have written. For another translation by the monk Paschasius, see above.

2. Three moral treatises, *Pro Repellenda Iactantia, Item de Superbia, Exhortatio Humilitatis,* or On Restraint of Boasting, On Restraint of Pride, Exhortation to Humility. The first two, although separated in the manuscript tradition, are tied together

by the last words of the essay on boasting: "Now I shall turn to other matters and describe something worse that springs from this evil" (*MEB,* lines 127-28). Substantial portions of the argument have been taken without much change from works of Cassian on the virtues and vices, particularly from Book V of the *Conlationes* and from Book XI of the *Instituta.* There are thirty Biblical quotations, one quotation from Seneca, *De Ira,* II, 21, 5, and a phrase from the tenth book of Augustine's *Confessions.* The treatises are addressed in a general way to all temporal rulers: "Whoever through the will of God excels in the rank of any office and takes precedence above other men in the provisions of government, must pay attention to this exhortation and not look to it only for rhetorical exaggeration" (*EH* 1-4). "I thought it best to address my remarks on boasting and pride to you, whoever you may be who rank above others" (*EH* 79-80).

3. The minutes of the first two councils of Braga in 561 and 572 may have been written by Martin, who was present at the first and was archbishop presiding at the second (*MEB,* p. 83).

4. Canons or Capitula from the Synods of the Eastern Fathers. This collection of translations of 84 Greek canons is addressed to Bishop Nitigisius and the entire church at Lugo, which had recently been constituted a separate ecclesiastical province from Braga. These canons are found in all conciliar manuscripts directly following the Second Council of Braga and must have been written in 572 after Nitigisius had attended the council at Braga. Martin's Greek manuscript was similar to one used by Dionysius Exiguus for his Collection of Greek Canons, made in Rome about 500, but Martin's material was more limited, for he excerpted canons from only six of the Eastern councils, Nicaea, Ancyra, Gangra, Neocesarea, and Antioch. He also used the canons and the Rule of Faith which accompany the First Council of Toledo. The preface of his collection is particularly interesting because it shows Martin's philosophy of translation: "The holy canons which were constituted by the early Fathers in parts of the Orient were originally written in the Greek language, then in later times were translated into Latin. Because it is difficult for anything to be translated from one language into another without change it often happens that

over a long period the copyists make many omissions, either because they do not understand or because they are careless, and as a result some simple things in the canons are obscured. Therefore I decided to restore as simply and as accurately as possible and with all diligence those passages which the translators have obscured or which the copyists have changed, at the same time observing such a division that those things which pertain to bishops or to the whole clergy may be written in one section and that those which pertain to the laity may also be gathered together, so that anyone can more quickly locate the chapter in which he is interested" (*MEB,* pp. 123-24).

5. *De Ira,* On Anger. The essay is dedicated to Vittimer, Bishop of Auria in the province of Lugo, and was written for him after their meeting at the Second Council of Braga in 572: "While we were recently together and I was enjoying the exchange of our mutual conversation, your diligent fondness for me induced you to ask me to write a few words for you on the sinfulness of anger and the effects of its nature. I have immediately obeyed and written a brief dissertation to interest you in escaping from anger or, if it cannot be avoided, in assuaging it" (*MEB,* p. 150). The entire essay is taken from Seneca's three books on anger, with much rearrangement of subject matter, but with few changes in the text. Bickel (*op. cit.*) proved that most of these textual changes were caused by Martin's adherence to an accentual cursus.

6. *De Correctione Rusticorum,* On Reproving the Peasants. This is a letter, written to Polemius, Bishop of Astorga, containing a sermon on the superstitious practices of recent Christian converts. Polemius also had attended the Second Council of Braga in 572 and had asked for special instructions on teaching the catechumens, a requirement for bishops postulated in that council's first canon. "I have received your kind letter, in which you ask me to select and send to you some material on the origin of idols and on their sins, in order that you may instruct the peasants, who are still bound by their former pagan superstition and are offering more veneration to demons than to God" (*MEB,* p. 183). The sermon owes much in form and subject matter to Augustine's *De catechizandis rudibus.* The detailed information on local superstitions and pagan survivals borrows in part from several sermons by Caesarius of Arles, but must for the

major part be based on Martin's own observations in Spain. The influence of Martin may be traced in substantial borrowings from his sermon in the following works: a sermon *De supremo iudicio* by Eligius of Noyon (ca. 588-659) preserved by his biographer Audoenus of Rouen (ca. 609-683) in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, scr. rer. Mer.,* Vol. IV, ed. B. Krusch, Hannover, 1902; Pirminius of Reichenau, *Scarapsus de singulis libris canonicis* (G. Jecker, "Die Heimat des hl. Pirmins," *Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums,* Heft 13, Münster in Westf., 1927); "Venus, a Man" (W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century,* Oxford, 1946, Appendix X); Aelfric, *De falsis diis,* ca. 1000 A. D.; a free version in Old Norwegian (cf. Caspari, *op. cit.,* p. cxxii).

7. *Formula Vitae Honestae,* Rule for Upright Living. The prefatory letter (chapter 1) is a dedication to Miro, king of the Sueves: "I am well aware, most clement king, that the burning thirst of your mind yearns insatiably for the cups of wisdom, and that you most keenly long for the streams whence flow the waters of moral science, and that for this reason your humble servant is constantly admonished in your letters to write down frequently in his replies some advice or encouragement of whatever sort it may be. But however much the praiseworthy zeal of your pious nature demands this of me, still I know that insolent wantonness will straightway be imputed to my poor self if I approach the heights of royal reverence with words that are either insistent or worthless. Therefore, that I may not by speaking abuse the permission offered by your pious invitation nor by silence oppose longer your desire, I faithfully present to be read to understanding ears this little book, which is not polished by any show of sophistry, but is put together with plain, straightforward simplicity. I have written it, not especially for your own instruction, since you are well supplied with the sagacity that comes from natural wisdom, but in general for those connected with your service who should properly read, understand, and observe it. The title of the book is "Rule for Upright Living," and I have called it so, because it teaches not the difficult and perfect things which are achieved only by a few outstanding worshipers of God, but rather because it advises those rules of conduct which may be fulfilled even without the precepts of holy scriptures merely by the natural law of human intelligence even

by the laity who live uprightly and honorably" (*MEB,* pp. 236-37). The phrase "even without the precepts of holy scriptures" is sufficient indication that the content of this essay is wholly Stoic in origin. There can be no doubt that it was based upon a work of Seneca, long since lost, which treated the four cardinal virtues, prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice. Both the *De officiis* and the *Exhortationes* of Seneca have been suggested as a source, but so little is known of either that nothing positive can be stated. St. Martin used his material just as he had done in the case of the *De Ira* (see 5 above). This short essay lost its preface in some ninth-century manuscripts and was soon attributed to Seneca. It contributed much to the common belief in the Middle Ages that Seneca had been a Christian. It became by far the most widespread of all the works of St. Martin and is now found in more than 600 manuscripts from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries and was translated into all the vernacular tongues by the thirteenth century. Petrarch and Erasmus were the first to deny Senecan authorship, but the work was still printed in Haase's Teubner edition of Seneca, Supplement, Leipzig, 1902. Under Seneca's name the precepts herein were widely used in the public schools as late as 1544, when Elias Vinetus brought out a special edition at Poitiers. He wrote in the preface (Latin text in *MEB,* p. 226): "Maturinus Colinus Fossaeus had once told me that there was at Niort, a well-known town near Poitiers, in the old Franciscan library, an ancient manuscript which contained the Greek words missing in the printed edition of Seneca, *In Claudium Caesarem ludus.* When I went there to see this manuscript and was examining other old books which they have, I came upon this work of Bishop Martin. Because I could not recall ever having heard or seen this writer's name before, I began to read the essay more carefully to see what it was about. After finishing the letter to the king, I had barely read three lines when I recognized a work which had been preached into us as boys by our barbarous teachers in their torture chambers, under the title of "Seneca on the Four Cardinal Virtues." I was so pleased with my discovery that I immediately bought a printed copy from a bookstore which was nearby and began to collate with the aid of a boy and to correct the text most diligently, intending to publish the name of the author, less to keep him from being cheated

of his due fame, than to vindicate the opinion of Erasmus who had said that the work was not Seneca's."

8. *De Trina Mersione,* On Triple Immersion. This text, only three pages in length, deals with the doctrinal question of triple immersion, which Martin declares preferable to simple immersion in the baptismal rite. It was written in response to a Bishop Boniface, who is otherwise unknown, but who had talked with travelers from Gallicia and inquired about the practice among the Sueves. The breadth of Martin's own contacts is shown by these six sources which he uses to support his preference: a letter of Pope Vigilius, an oral report by delegates from Braga to the Emperor at Constantinople, a quotation from Paul's *Epistle to the Ephesians,* a reference to Jerome's *Contra Luciferianos,* a story from the *Acta s. Sylvestri,* and the acts of an early Eastern council. The book of Jerome was called "a very old papyrus manuscript in the possession of my dear brother and presbyter Ausentius, where you will find the statement, if you desire" (*MEB,* p. 257, l. 38).

9. *De Pascha,* On Easter. A short treatise on calculating the date of Easter has no preface. It may have been written because of the controversy over the date in 577. The dates which Martin sets as the Easter limits are March 22 and April 21. Among known computistical works the *Acta Synodi Caesareae* is the possible source which argues for these specific dates (C. W. Jones, ed., *Bedae Opera de Temporibus,* Cambridge, Mass., 1943, pp. 87-89). There are several Biblical quotations.

10. Poem in dactylic hexameters on the dedication to Martin of Tours of the church at Dumium. A few lines were taken from Sidonius Apollinaris, Poem 5.

11. Poem is elegiac meter for the dedication of a refectory, probably in the monastery at Dumium, taken almost entirely from Sidonius Apollinaris, Poem 17.

12. Epitaph, a poem of six dactylic hexameters (quoted above).

Non-extant Works:

1. Volume of letters "which urges improvement in living, conversion to the faith, constancy in prayers, distribution of alms, and above all cultivation of all the virtues and piety (Isidore, *De Viris Illustribus,* 35).

2. A Rule of Faith, for the benefit and guidance of Arians converted to Catholicism (Isidore, *ibid.*).

Spurious Works:

1. *De Moribus,* a collection known under the name of Seneca at Tours as early as 567. There is no manuscript evidence for the ascription to Martin.

2. *De Paupertate,* in reality a collection of sentences from Seneca's Epistles.

Influence:

Martin of Braga was best known in later times for two works, *Formula Vitae Honestae* (or *De Quattuor Virtutibus Cardinalibus* ascribed to Seneca) and *De Correctione Rusticorum.* See discussion of those works above and in *MEB* for details of their influence outside of Spain.

PROSOPOGRAPHY OF JUVENCUS

The works to which reference is most frequently made in the following article, and the abbreviations by which they are indicated, are listed below:

CSEL Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum. Vienna, 1866 ff.

GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderten. Leipzig, 1897 ff.

Huemer, J., Gai Vetti Aquilini Iuvenci Evangeliorum Libri Quattuor, CSEL, Vol. XXIV, Vienna, 1891.

MGH Monumenta Germaniae historica, Berlin.

MPL Migne, J. P., Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina. Paris, 1844, 1864.

Name: Gaius Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus, *on the authority of the chief manuscripts:*

1. *MS. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, no. 304, (7th century), p. 4b:* of Calvetius Aquilinus or Juvencus.

2. *Ibid., p. 36a:* End of Book I of the Gospels of Juvencus, a Christian and a most learned man.

3. *British Museum MS. 15A XVI* (8th century): End of the four Books of the Gospels in verse, by Gaius Ve-tius Aquilinus Juvencus.

4. *Karlsruhe MS. 217* (9th century). End of Book IV, of the Gospels by G. Vettius Aquilinus or Juvencus.

5. *Laon MS. 101* (9th century): End of the verses of Juvencus.

6. *Montpellier MS. 362* (9th century): End of Book IV of the Gospels, in verse, by Gaius Vectius Aquilinus Juvencus, the priest.

7. *Paris MS. 9347* (9th century): End of Book IV of Juvencus the priest.

8. *Zurich MS. C68* (9th century): End of Book IV (of the four books) of the Gospels of G. Vettius Aquilinus or Juvencus, a distinguished man, and a priest.

9. *Ambrosian MS. C74* [*once at Bobbio*] (9/10th century): *as Karlsruhe MS. 217.*

10. Vatican MS. of the Queen [Chistina] of Sweden (9/10th century): *as Montpelier MS. 362.*

11. Vatican Ottoboni MS. 35 (9/10th century): . . . of Vittius Juventus.

12. *Helmstadt MS. 553* (11th century): End of Book IV of the Gospels by Juvencus.

13. Harleian MS. 3093 (11th century): . . . of Vettius.

Flourished under Constantine; composed, in verse, a narrative of the life of Christ; Jerome (v. no. 3 below) also attributes to him a work on the Sacraments.

1. Juvencus, *Evangeliorum libri quattuor, IV, 802 ff. (Huemer, CSEL, Vol. XXIV, p. 145):* My soul received the strength of faith and holy fear, and so brightly did the grace of Christ shine upon me that the glory of God's law gladly assumed in my verses the earthly trappings of language. These blessings were granted to me by the peace of Christ, the peace of the world, which Constantine, the merciful ruler of the liberated earth, fosters. . . .

2. Jerome, (C. 340-420), *Chronicon ad ann. 329* A.D. *(ed. R. Helm, Leipzig, 1926, GCS, Vol. XXIV, p. 232):* The priest Juvencus, of Spanish nationality, set forth the Gospels in epic verse.

3. Jerome, *Liber de Viris Illustribus, ch. 84 (MPL, Vol. XXIII, Col. 691):* Juvencus, a Spanish priest of very noble family, translating the four Gospels almost word for word, composed four books, and wrote also in the same metre some verses dealing with the series of the Sacraments. He flourished under the Emperor Constantine.

4. Jerome, *Epistola LXX ad Magnum Oratorem Urbis Romae, ch. 5 (ed. J. Hilberg, Vienna, 1910, CSEL, Vol. LIV, p. 707):* The priest Juvencus, during the reign of Constantine, set forth in verse the story of our Lord and Savior, and he did not fear to subject the majesty of the Gospel to the laws of metre.

5. Gregory of Tours (538-594/5), *Historia Francorum, I, 36 (ed. W. Arndt, Hanover, 1884, MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, Vol. I, p. 51):* From the twenty-first year of his [*Constantine's*] reign the priest Jerome made an entry, mentioning that the priest Juvencus wrote the Gospels in verse, at the request of the aforesaid Emperor.

Some examples of the influence of Juvencus' work:

1. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei* . . .

Libri Quatuor, ad Matt. II, 11 (MPL, Vol. XXVI, col. 26): "And opening their treasures they offered Him gifts: gold, frankincense, and myrrh." The priest Juvencus very beautifully compasses the mystical significance of the gifts in one short line [*I, 250*]: "They bring gifts—incense, gold, and myrrh—to Him Who is king, man, and God."

2. Prudentius (348-410), *Peristephanon VI, 159, (ed. J. Bergman, Vienna, 1926, CSEL, Vol. LXI, p. 361)*: There will come a future time, as the world is falling in ruins, when Fructuosus will save you, Tarraco, from bitter torments, protecting you from the fire. [*Cf. Juvencus, Praefatio, 22 ff.*]: For it may be that this work will rescue me from the fire on that day when Christ, the Judge, the glory of the high-throned Father, will descend in majesty from a flaming cloud.

For other imitations of Juvencus by Prudentius, v. Bergman, ibid., Index imitationum, p. 455 ff.

3. Gelasius (Pope 492—d. 496) *Concilium Romanum I (MPL, Vol. LIX, col. 161):* Likewise we do not reject, but rather marvel at the work of Juvencus, a composition which is no less painstaking [than the others].

4. Venantius Fortunatus (530-600) *Vita S. Martini I, 14 (ed. F. Leo, Berlin, 1881, MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, IV, p. 295)*: For Juvencus was the first to sing of the work of majesty with poetic art, arranging his poem in a way capable of conveying his message.

5. Isidore of Seville (——d. 636) *Carmina ad S. Isidorum Ascripta, no. x, l. 2 (MPL, Vol. LXXXIII, col. 1110):* See, here you have Juvencus and Sedulius also. Both equal in power of expression, both eminent in poetry, bring deep draughts from the Gospel spring.

Braulio (bp. of Saragossa 631—d.651), *Vita S. Aemiliani (MPL, Vol. LXXX, col. 702):* In the very elegant words of one of the ancient poets [*Juvencus, Praefatio, 1, 22*]: "For it may be that this very work will rescue me from the fire."

Jonas of St. Elne (fl. middle of 7th century) *Vita S. Columbani, ch. 22 (MPL, Vol. LXXXVII, col. 1024):* He had no offspring, as Juvencus [*I, 9*] says of Zachary and Elizabeth, "in order that the gift might be the more pleasing to them, who had already lost hope."

A. Adamnan (624-704), *De locis sanctis I, 17 (MPL, Vol. LXXXVIII, col. 790):* Toward the middle of that field, on the west, is situated that nearby place where Judas Iscariot, driven by despair, hanged himself with a noose and so perished. And there, even today, there is pointed out a large fig tree, from whose top, it is said, he hanged himself, as Juvencus, the poet priest, says [*IV, 631*] of that same Judas: "He seized upon a dreadful death from the top of a fig tree."

For the use of Juvencus' work by Bede (673-735) *see* Manitius, Zur Aldhelm und Baeda, Vienna, 1886, p. 86.

For the use of Juvencus' work by Aldhelm (640?-709) *see* Manitius, Zur Aldhelm und Baeda, Vienna, 1886, p. 36.

Alcuin (735-804), *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum Episcopum libri septem, II, 6 (MPL, Vol. CI, col. 152):* But if you do not wish to believe the other teachers of the world, at least believe the most learned man of your own country. Juvencus, a priest, and the most learned scholar of Spain, sang as follows in his poem on the Gospels [*I, 60 ff*]: "For, by divine command, your womb shall conceive a son whom God joyfully bids to reign over all things. [Huemer *(CSEL, Vol. XXIV, p. 6)* prefers the latter: throughout all the ages.] And when you bear this child, let His name be Jesus."

This man flourished in the time of the Emperor Constantine. You observe, no doubt, this fact: that adoptionist and nuncupationist heresy of yours did not yet exist in Spain. Either pronounce the most learned teacher of your country a heretic because he says that He [*Christ*] is God, and God's own Son, Who was born of the Virgin, or, if you wish to accept him, then condemn your own opinion, or rather, correct it according to his view, which offers testimonies in agreement with the holy Fathers who flourished in various places at different periods in the history of the world.

Alcuin, *Adversus Elipandum (Toletanum) libri quattuor, II, 8 (MPL, Vol. CI, col. 266):* We have also seen the poem of the Story of the Gospel by Juvencus, a priest and an excellent scholar, whom Jerome praises and who in a certain verse did not fear to call Christ God's own Son, in orthodox speech. For he says [*Juvencus, I, 60 ff.*]: "For, by divine command your womb shall conceive a son whom God joyfully bids to reign throughout all the ages. And when you bear this child, let His name be Jesus."

Alcuin, *De divinis officiis, ch. 5 (MPL, Vol. CI, Paris, 18, col. 1179):* Through the gold, a king is revealed; in the incense, God is recognized; through myrrh, a man who has suffered death and burial. The priest Juvencus has wonderfully synopsized these gifts in metre [*I. 250 ff.*]: "They bring gold, incense and myrrh to Him Who is both king, and God, and man."

Alcuin, *Versus de Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae, 1. 1550 (ed. Dümmler, Berlin, 1881, MGH, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, Vol. I, p. 179)*: [*The Library of York contains*] . . . What Sedulius too sings, and Juvencus himself, Alcimus and Clement, Prosper, Paulinus and Arator; what Fortunatus and what Lactantius set forth.

Alcuin, *Epistula* 126—a ad Arnonem archiepiscopum Salzburgensem (*Jaffé,* Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum, Vol. VI, Monumenta Alcuiniana. Berlin, 1873, p. 510). For a certain poet says of his work, a poem concerning the Gospels [*Juvencus, Praefatio, 1. 22 ff.*]: "For perhaps this very work will rescue me from the fire when the Judge descends from the flame-breathing citadel of heaven." I too shall say: "For not only will this very work rescue you from the fire now, but it sets you in the heavenly court."

Alcuin, *Epistula 143 ad Carolum Regem* (*ibid.,* p. 547): For in this little work I have tried to prove the truth of the Catholic faith from the very reliable evidence of the holy Fathers: that is, of blessed Jerome, of St. Augustine, of Gregory the Roman Pope, of Blessed Hilary of Poitiers, of Leo who was also Pope, and of Bishop Fulgentius, and also of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan and likewise of Cyril, that courageous fighter against Nestorius, of Peter, Bishop of Ravenna, and of the blessed priest Bede, and of Gregory Nazianzen and also of the Spaniard Isidore and of Juvencus, a scholar of the same province.

Alcuin, *Epistula 166 ad Theodulfum* (*ibid.,* p. 166): But, O venerable man, let your holiness honor your office; preach the Gospel in season and out of season, and like a shrewd steward multiply your master's money so that you may be made worthy of the tenfold reward: "For perhaps this very work will rescue you from the fire, this very work will place you in the heavenly court."

Theodulf, bishop of Orleans (788—d. 821) *De libris quos*

legere solebam, 1. 11 ff. (ed. E. Dümmler, Berlin, 1881, MGH, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, Vol. I, p. 543): And not the least, there was a suitable interest in the holy Fathers, whose names, you see, are written below: the brilliant Sedulius, Paulinus, Arator, Avitus, and Fortunatus, and you, loud-thundering Juvencus. . . .

Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 776-856) *De institutione clericorum III, 18 (MPL, Vol. CVII, Paris, 1864, col. 396):* Therefore this art of metric, even though it is common to the pagans as well as to ourselves, must not be rejected, but must be mastered in due measure, because there is no doubt that many preachers of the Gospel composed famous books in this style, and by this means strove to please God. Such were Juvencus, Sedulius, Arator, Alcimus, Clemens, Paulinus, Fortunatus, and many others.

Eulogius of Toledo (fl. first half of 9th century), *Memorialis Sanctorum Libri Tres, I, 3 (MPL, Vol. CXV, Paris, 1881, col. 741)*: And, just as I admit that I am so exceedingly unworthy, so, too, not only am I confident that by the completion of this work I shall be freed from guilt, but I hope also, that, being saved from punishment, I shall through its mediation find greater grace in the sight of the Lord, as that saying of the philosopher [*sic!*] reads [*Juvencus, Praefatio, 22 ff.*]: "Perhaps this work some day will rescue me from the fire."

This passage was obviously a perennial favorite among medieval writers who quoted from Juvencus. For still another instance of its use, quoted this time by a Spanish monk of the tenth century, see Les notices hispaniques dans. . . . Usuard, *Analecta Bollandiana, LV, (1937) 271, n. 2*: . . . *"hoc opus scribto forsan me subtraet ab igne."*

Johannes Scotus Erigena (fl. middle of 9th century), *De divisione naturae, II, 17 (MPL, Vol. CXXII, col. 550):* Therefore, it should not surprise us that the primordial causes of the visible things, before they issue by a process of generation into the genera and forms and numbers by which they present themselves to the senses by means of quasi-bodily clouds, should be figuratively designated by the term "empty" and "void"—and this is so because of the extraordinary fineness and indescribable simplicity of their nature as it presents itself to the mind. For the aforesaid spaces of the visible world are not inappropriately called "empty" or "void," as one of the poets says [*Juvencus,*

I, 1. 388]: "You will send your body through the empty air with a leap."

Notker Balbulus (ca. 830-912), *De interpretibus divinarum scripturarum, ch. 7 (MPL, Vol. CXXXI, Paris, 1884, col. 1000)*: But if you are inquiring into metres, you do not need the fables of the heathen, but you have in Christianity the most prudent Prudentius. . . . As for Juvencus, Sedulius, Arator, and the hymns of Ambrose, I know that you have already committed them to memory.

Hugh of St. Victor (1097-1141), *Eruditionis didascaliae libri septem, IV, 14 (MPL, Vol. CLXXVI, Paris, 18, col. 786):* Other Catholics also have written many famous works: *then follows a long list of famous writers, including* Juvencus.

Roger Bacon (1214-1294), *Compendium studii philosophiae, ch. 7 (ed. J. S. Brewer, London, 1859* [*Rolls Series, no. 15*], *p. 456)*: Likewise among the Christian poets, or, as I might better say, most learned authorities, such as Sedulius, Prosper, Arator, and all the others who are approved by the Church and by the Sovereign Pontiffs, as appears in the prologues of these books, and likewise, too, Jerome and Bede and all the scholars of antiquity. Now Juvencus, the first in order of time, who put the Gospel of Matthew into verse, says *(I, 1. 48)* Officio amissamque levant promissa loquelam. Here the final syllable is dropped, so as to read officiomissam, etc., and no more than this can be removed without a false quantity.

Roger Bacon, ibid, p. 460: And the first syllable of the word "nomisma" is shortened, and that of the word "nummus" is lengthened, so that the difference between them may appear greater, as they are used by Juvencus in the third book [*sic!*] based on St. Matthew's Gospel, where he says [*IV, 1. 10*]: Inspicite in nummum sculptique nomismatis aera.

For the use of citations from Juvencus by medieval grammarians and metricians to support or illustrate their rules, v. Huemer, op cit., Prolegomena, p. x ff., and Keil, Grammatici Latini, Leipzig, 1855-1880, Vol. V, pp. 571-593. For the inclusion of portions of Juvencus' work in medieval florilegia, v. Huemer, op. cit., Prolegomena, p. xxiii.

MARGARET ANN NORTON.

BACHIARIUS

Francis X. Murphy, C.SS.R.

Bachiarius, author of a Profession of Faith (*Libellus de Fide*) and a treatise on the repentance of a fallen monk (*De reparatione lapsi ad Januarium*) is an enigmatic figure who flourished around the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Apparently of Spanish origin, he has been the subject of considerable scholarly investigation in recent years, particularly in connection with studies on Priscillianism. But in keeping with that still perplexing movement, the details of his life and career are as yet not sufficiently unravelled. In an attempt to furnish a prosopography of Bachiarius, the following works have proven most useful:

MPL: Migne, J. P., Patrologiae cursus completus—Series latina, Vol. XX, 1019-1063.

Madoz, J. "Libellus Fidei de Baquiario," in *Revista Española de Teologia,* Madrid, 1941, 457-488.

Richardson, E. C., Gennadius, *Liber de viris inlustribus* (Leipzig, 1896).

Bernouilli, A. *Hieronymus und Gennadius* (Leipzig, 1895).

Altaner, B. *Patrologia* (Span. ed., Madrid, 1944) 28*-29*.

De Aldama, J. A., "Baquiario y Rufino," *Gregorianum* 15, 1934, 589-598.

Babut, P., *Priscillien et le priscillianisme,* Paris, 1909.

Cavallera, F. "Le 'De Fide' de Bachiarius, Egeria, le symbole du Toletum I." *Bulletin de Litérature Ecclésiastique* 39, 1938, 88-97. (BLE)

D'Alès, A., "Priscillien," *Revue des Sciences religieuses* 33, 1933, 165-174.

Duhr, J. "Le 'De Fide' de Bachiarius," *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* 24, 1928, 5-40; 301-331. (RHE)

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Testimony:

I. Gennadius of Marseilles, *Liber de viris inlustribus* (ed. Richardson), no. 24, p. 71: Bachiarius, a man of Christian philosophy, open and industrious in his devotion to God, elected to travel for the purpose of preserving the integrity of his faith (*propositi*). He is said to have published fine works, but I have read only one of them, a book "On Faith" in which he gave satisfaction to the Bishop of the city against complainers and defamers of his journeying, and declared that it was not for fear of men but for the sake of God that he had undertaken his travel; that on taking leave of his country and relations, he might become an heir of the Patriarch Abraham.

In Bernouilli's edition, Bachiarius is called a "vir episcopus"—this following the ms. reading of 25 and 36 (Veronensis); but Richardson does not think there is sufficient evidence for following these mss. (*op. cit.* p. LXVI).

II. Honorius of Autun (+ 1130), *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* I, xxiv (MPL vol. 172, 214): Bachiarius, a man of Christian philosophy, outstanding and industrious, published fine works "On the Faith."

III. Ms. evidence attributes both the *De Fide* and the *De Reparatione* to Bachiarius:

Libellus de fide, in Cod. Rivipull. 151 (Bobbio, vii century) and originally published by A. Muratori, *Anecdota Biblioth. Ambrosianae,* t. II, Milan, 1698, pp. 9 ff.

The *De reparatione lapsi* in Biblioth. Amb., cod. 0 218 sup. (vii cent., Irish script).

Cod. Vat. 3834 (ix cent.).

Cod. 1398 Troyes (xii cent.—anc. Clairvaux 0. 88).

Cod. 539 Académie de Montpellier (xii cent.).

Further, the *De reparatione* (chap. xv) is quoted by Rhabanus Maurus in his *Comm. in Josue,* t. III, c. xi (MPL 108, 1090-1091).

Fulbert of Chartres in the eleventh century sends the nun Hildegarde a passage from chapter xii (*Epp.* lxiv-lxv: MPL Vol. 141, 233).

The *Objurgatio in Evagrium* of Ps.—Jerome embodies chapter i/iv(Ed. *Epp. Hieronymi,* Vol. IV, pp. 143-145, Bâle, 1537).

IV. Spanish Origin:

In the *De Fide* Bachiarius makes answer to a Bishop, acknowledging that he has been incriminated for his faith: "It is like Christ asking the Samaritan woman for water, when your Beatitude requires of us our faith . . . because the stain of a certain heresy has fastened upon our native soil. . . . As I see it, not our testimony but our native land renders us suspect. And when we do not blush for our faith, we are confounded for our province . . . (MPL 20, 1019).

There is unanimity among scholars in admitting that the native land of Bachiarius was Spain, and the heresy to which he refers, Priscillianism. This is adequately supported by evident Priscillianist phraseology in the *De Fide.* Cf. Babut, *Priscillien,* 2, 16, 309; Duhr, RHE 24, 1928, 301 ff.

V. A Pilgrim:

"If we acknowledge our native land we do blush for its error; but for me, the city wherein I am regenerated has become my land and my country. Let nothing be ascribed to me because of earthly affinities, which I remind you I have left behind (*De Fide:* MPL 20, 1022). 'I am a pilgrim as were all my forbears' (*Ps.* 38:17). And if it should be further asked of me where I was born, let my confession [of faith] be accepted with which I made answer upon the nativity of my baptism: for my country did not give me a confession, but my confession gave me a country" (*ibid.* 1024).

In the *De reparatione lapsi,* Bachiarius, further gives the impression that he is far away from the place where he had been a monk along with the fallen monk: "We have heard the outcome of your terrible fall . . . (MPL 20, 1032) . . . and not only the city itself but all the world has been filled with despair over the news" (1046).

It is generally conceded that Bachiarius had left his native land and gone to Rome; but because of his inveterate use of the Scripture, doubt could arise as to whether his whole meaning is in the contrast between his worldly fatherland, and the kingdom of his Heavenly Father, of which his baptism made him a member. He himself says: "Certainly according to our constitution as human beings, one's father determines one's fatherland; but that land is to be called mine on this earth, where by heavenly precept the Father and no other is allowed to be referred to" (*Matt.* 23:9).

VI. In Rome:

"Since by apostolic ordinance we are admonished to give an account of our faith and hope to all demanding it of us, we do not hesitate to demonstrate it to your Beatitude, who is *the artifex of this edifice*" (*De Fide,* 1024-25). Then after citing his belief and practice as a Catholic: "These are the things which I have to offer you for the present (*ad praesens*). If there is anything that we seem to have either purposely omitted, or that still appears temporizing, do not hesitate to question us, and we will answer without hesitation . . ." (*ibid.* 1035).

Again, there is general agreement among historians that the Bishop to whom Bachiarius is making answer is the Bishop of Rome; but there is a possibility that he is addressing his local bishop in his native land, though he does show himself very familiar with the Roman scene: "Did not the Novatians beget dissidents from the Catholics? . . . and if for the fault of one, the progeny of a whole province is to be anathema, then that most blessed disciple, that is, Rome, in which now not one but two or three or more heresies have jostled, is to be condemned. But nothing can either terrify or move the Cathedra of Peter, that is, the seat of faith" (1022).

VII. A Monk:

In the *De reparatione Lapsi,* Bachiarius frequently addresses Januarius, the abbot of the monastery, and the fallen monk, as "beloved brother." He likewise speaks of going: "Beyond the Jordan, in the solitude, which is interpreted a restricted place—

that is the poor and damp cell of a monastery" (MPL 20, 1052). "Enter into the prison of your monastery . . ." and "Command me, and I will hasten to lead you without delay" (1054).

"Nor should we desert this wounded brother [the fallen monk] once so dear to us." . . . "Let us see first, my brother, whether he who has fallen was found wounded in battle or at home. . . . I certainly have seen him situated in the fray; he fought with the shield of fasting against temptations to intemperance; with the armor of silence against the darts and arrows of detraction" (MPL 20, 1044).

Tillemont interprets the "Vir christianae philosophiae nudus et expeditus vacare Deo disponens" of Gennadius as "occupé de Dieu seul, libre et dégagé de tout autre chose," thus concluding definitely that he was a monk; and at least a deacon, if not also a priest (*levita*). However, the passage in which Bachiarius speaks of "bowing his head before the Bishop for sanctification" (1035) more probably refers to his reception of baptism, as he has just previously confessed: "Nor do we flatter ourselves regarding the truth as if perhaps priests or doctors, who are the leaders of the people and the columns of the church" (*ibid.*).

VIII. Date:

Tillemont (*Memoirs* . . . Vol. XVI, pp. 473 ff) along with the older historians had placed the composition of the *De Fide* in the early part of the fifth century, on the supposition that Bachiarius had left his native Spain as a result of the First Council of Toledo, held in 400 A.D., and had come to Rome where in 404 there were Priscillianist difficulties which ended in a request by Pope Innocent I for a testimonial of faith on the part of the Gallicians (Innoc. I, *Ep.* III, 1: MPL XX, 486-488).

Recently, however, J. Duhr has attempted to date the *De Fide* during the early part of the 380's. He believes that Bachiarius left Spain after the rescript of Gratian obtained by the Bishop of Merida at the close of 381 or so, which proclaimed exile for all heretics (Cf. Sulp. Severus, *Chronicon* II, c. 47: CSEL I, p. 100). Duhr further maintains that the *De Fide* was addressed to St. Jerome then serving as a secretary to Pope Damasus, for

Bachiarius cites the *Contra Helvidium* (MPL XX, 1029) but does not mention the controversies over Origen or Priscillian. Finally, Duhr contends that Rufinus of Aquileia borrows from Bachiarius in his *Apologia ad Anastasium,* which was written late in 400 (Duhr, RHE 24, 1928, 5-40).

Duhr's thesis for the dating and the borrowing have been rejected by De Aldama, Lambert and D'Alès; and after Duhr's rebuttal (RHE 30, 1934, 85-96) again by Cavallera (BLE 39, 1938, 88-97). Hence to the present, the later date of 404 or thereafter seems by far preferable, since there is no mention of Bachiarius in Jerome's *De viris* written in 393, and the *De reparatione Lapsi* appears to belong to the second decade of the fifth century. (Cf. Tillemont, *op. cit.,* 475).

OSSIUS (HOSIUS) OF CORDOVA

by

Rev. Victor C. De Clercq, CICM

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NAME:

According to the evidence of the oldest Latin MSS the authentic reading of the name of the bishop of Cordova is not Hosius, nor Osius, but OSSIUS: thus C. H. Turner, "Ossius (Hosius) of Cordova," *Journal of Theological Studies,* 12 (1911), 275-277; id., *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima,* Oxford 1899-1930, I.2.3,532. See also *VDC,* 44-48. The form HOSIUS originated with the Greek Church historians who consistently wrote Ὅσιος.

Birth in Spain:

There are no explicit testimonies concerning the place of birth of Ossius, but several indications point to the fact that he was

born in Spain, and most probably in or near Cordova: see the discussion on this in *VDC*, 52-59.

The year 256 as the approximate date of birth of Ossius results from the testimonies giving him about a hundred years of age in 356. Thus Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica*, II, 40, 5, commenting on Ossius' fall from orthodoxy:

> *It has been reported that the Spaniard Osius also consented to this perfidy (viz. of the Anomoeans). This is all the more surprising and unbelievable, as Ossius had been a most steadfast defender of our cause throughout his entire life and was believed to be the originator of the Nicene Council. Unless he was out of his senses by reason of his extremely old age, for —as Saint Hilary says in his letters—he was over a hundred years old.*

Similarly Athanasius, referring to the events of 356, wrote in his *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos*, 45:

> *Constantius sent for Hosius and instead of banishing him detained him for a whole year at Sirmium. Godless, unholy, without natural affection, he feared not God, he regarded not his father's affection for Hosius, he reverenced not his great age, for he was now more than a hundred years old.* (*PNF*, IV, 287.)[1]

Consecrated Bishop of Cordova:

Ossius became bishop of Cordova about 295. Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos*, 42, states that Ossius had been a bishop for over sixty years, when the Arians at the court of Constantius began their agitation against him in 355-6.

Synod of Elvira (ca.300):

Ossius' name occurs in second place in the list of members of this synod: see *Mansi*, II, 5.—On the date of this synod, see *VDC*, 87-103.

Ossius a Confessor During the Persecution of Diocletian (303-5):

Letter of Ossius to Constantius (Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad mon.*, 44):

[1] This translation and others marked *PNF* are taken from A. Wace - Ph. Schaff, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Second Series, Oxford & New York, 1890-1892.

Hosius to Constantius the Emperor sends health in the Lord. I was a confessor at the first, when a persecution arose in the time of your grandfather Maximian; and if you shall persecute me I am ready now, too, to endure anything rather than to shed innocent blood and to betray the truth. (*PNF*, IV, 285).

Ossius at the Court of Constantine the Great (312-326):

Letter of Constantine to Caecilianus, Bishop of Carthage (Winter 312-3):

Do thou, therefore, when thou hast received the above sum of money, command that it be distributed among all those mentioned above, according to the brief sent to thee by Hosius. (*PNF*, I, 383)

Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, I, 32:

Constantine made the priests of God his counselors and deemed it incumbent on him to honor the God who had appeared to him with all devotion. (*PNF*, I, 491)

Ibid., I, 42:

The emperor also personally inviting the society of God's ministers, distinguished them with the highest possible respect and honor, showing them favor in deed and word as persons consecrated to the service of his God. Accordingly, they were admitted to his table, though mean in their attire and outward appearance, yet not so in his estimation, since he thought he was not the man as seen by the vulgar eye, but the God in him. He made them also his companions in travel, believing that He Whose servants they were would thus help him. (*PNF*, I, 494)

Anonymous Author of the *Vita Constantini Cod. Angel. Gr. 22* (in Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.*, ed. Bidez, 182-183):

He treated the bishops with the greatest honor, and especially those from the West, because through them he had received the first instructions and exhortations to virtue, and among them the Spaniard Hosius, presiding over the Church of Cordova in Spain—a man who had achieved high fame everywhere because of his age and reputation of virtue—and with him other bishops prominent in that part of the empire. On

his campaigns, and wherever he went, he made them his companions, reverencing them as much as lay in him, and attributing to their prayers the things successfully done by himself.

Intervention in the Donatist Dispute (313-321):

Augustine, *Contra epistolam Parmeniani,* I, 5, 10:
Parmenian asserted that the Spaniard Ossius had given assistance to Caecilianus, to the effect that a number of holy and undefiled men were brought to hold communion with them.
Ibid., I, 8, 13:
According to Parmenian, Constantine decreed the death penalty against the Donatists . . . and this monstrous order was given at the suggestion of the Spaniard Ossius. But others, with greater kindness and truth, will rather believe that Ossius, being a bishop, advised the emperor to repress their heinous crime of sacrilegious schism by more lenient means.

Influence on Constantinian Legislation:

Constantine's edict of April 21, 321 (*Cod. Theod.,* IV, 7, 1) is addressed to Ossius and, therefore, in all probability, enacted at his request. It provides that the manumission of slaves in the presence of a bishop shall have the same legal effects as if it were granted in a civil court, and that the clergy in general shall be empowered to free their slaves without any additional formalities.

Mission of Ossius to Alexandria Concerning the Arian Dispute (324):

Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini,* II, 63:
Constantine forthwith selected from the Christians in his train one whom he well knew to be approved for the sobriety and genuineness of his faith, and who had distinguished himself before this time by the boldness of his religious profession, and sent him to negotiate peace between the dissentient parties at Alexandria. He also made him the bearer of a most needful and appropriate letter to the original movers of the strife.

Then follows, in ch. 64-72, the text of the letter of Constantine to Alexander and Arius. In ch. 73, Eusebius continues:

And the excellent man to whom it was entrusted performed his part not merely by communicating the letter itself, but also by seconding the views of him who sent it; for he was, as I have said, in all respects a person of pious character. The evil, however, was greater than could be remedied by a single letter (*PNF*, I, 515 and 518).

Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 7:

Constantine sent a letter to Alexander and Arius by a trustworthy person named Hosius, who was bishop of Cordova in Spain. The emperor greatly loved this man and held him in highest estimation (*PNF*, II, 6).

Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 16:

Constantine sent one who was honored for his faith, his virtuous life, and most approved in those former times for his confessions about the doctrine, to reconcile those who were divided on account of doctrine in Egypt, and those who in the East differed about the Passover. This man was Hosius, bishop of Cordova. (*PNF*, II, 252-3)

On this occasion a synod of Egyptian bishops convened in Alexandria under the presidency of Ossius, to solve the Arian dispute and the schism of Colluthus: Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos*, 74:

Ischyras was deposed in the presence of our Father Hosius at the council which assembled at Alexandria and was admitted to communion as a layman. (*PNF*, IV, 139)

Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 7:

Hosius, bishop of Cordova in Spain, who has been referred to as having been sent by the emperor Constantine to allay the excitement which Arius had caused, while endeavoring to destroy the dogma of Sabellius the Libyan, originated the controversy about the terms OUSIA *and* HYPOSTASIS. (*PNF*, II, 81)

Synod of Antioch (325):

Most historians now admit the authenticity of the synodical letter first published by Ed. Schwartz, "Zur Geschichte des Athanasius," *Nachrichten Göttingen, philol.-hist. Klasse*, VI (1905), 272-280, and consequently believe that a synod was held at Antioch early in 325, at which Arianism was condemned and

three bishops conditionally excommunicated, viz. Eusebius of Caesarea, Theodotus of Laodicea, and Narcissus of Neronias. See the monograph of E. Seeberg, *Die Synode von Antiochien im Jahre 324-325,* Berlin 1913.

Several authors ascribe the presidency of this synod to Ossius: see the bibliography and discussion on this theory in *VDC,* 206-217.

Council of Nicaea (325):

1) Convocation: The Council of Nicaea was assembled by the emperor Constantine (see f.i. the synodical letter of the Nicene Fathers to the Church of Alexandria in Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.,* I, 9), but on the advice and under the influence of Ossius and other bishops:

Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.,* I, 1:

The emperor then summoned a council of bishops at the city of Nicaea according to the wishes of the bishops.

Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica,* II, 40, 5: see the text *supra,* p. 52 —Also the testimonies of Philostorgius and of the author of the *Vita Constantini Cod. Angel. Gr. 22, infra,* p. 8.

2) Presidency: There is hardly any doubt left that Ossius presided over the Nicene Council. This follows mainly from the fact that the list of signatures to the Nicene Creed, as recorded by early church historians and in the ancient canonical collections, is invariably headed by the name of Ossius, bishop of Cordova [see E. Honigmann, "La liste originale des Pères de Nicée," *Byzantion,* XIV (1939), 17-76], followed by the two Roman priests representing Pope Silvester.

Confirmation is offered by Athanasius who in praising Ossius exclaims: "What council did he not preside over?" (*Apologia de fuga sua,* 5). Similarly, in reporting the complaints of the Arians against Ossius, Athanasius uses the phrase: "He presides over the councils" (*Hist. Arian. ad mon.,* 42). Evidently, in both cases, only the orthodox councils are meant and the phrases would be rather meaningless if the most important council of all, viz. that of Nicaea, was not included.

3) Ossius took part in the redaction of the Nicene Creed:

Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad mon.*, 42, summarizes the reasons given by the Arian court bishops to persuade Constantius to eliminate the bishop of Cordova:

> *These strong measures of yours are nothing to us, nor is our success at all more secure so long as Hosius remains. While he is in his own place the rest also continues in their churches, for he is able by his arguments and his faith to persuade all men against us. He is the president of councils and his letters are everywhere attended to. He it was who put forth the Nicene confession and proclaimed everywhere that the Arians were heretics.* (*PNF* IV, 285)

Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 7:

> *Before the Nicene Council Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, on reaching Nicomedia, met with Hosius and the bishops in his entourage and made arrangements to proclaim the Son homoousios with the Father by synodical sentence, and to excommunicate Arius.*

Vita Constantini Cod. Angel. Gr. 22 (Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.*, ed. Bidez, I, 7a):

> *Alexander left Alexandria and sailed by the fastest possible route for Nicomedia. On his arrival he conferred with the bishops around Hosius and by the most rightful words persuaded them to be privy to the common decision, viz. to proclaim the homoousios . . . When the bishops appeared to hold divergent opinions, the emperor Constantine decided to assemble a council of the bishops at Nicaea.*

However, other reports on the proceedings of the Nicene Council given by Athanasius (*De Decretis Nicaeni Synodi*), Eusebius of Caesarea (*Epist. ad Caesarienses,* in Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 8), and Ambrose (*De Fide,* III, 15), provide definite proof that the Nicene creed was not presented ready-made to the assembly, but resulted from the revision of, and additions to a preexistent formulary, which were done while the council was in session and under the direction of Ossius. See on this *VDC,* 250-266.

Council of Serdica (343):

1) Name and date: The authentic reading of the city's name is not SARDICA but SERDICA: thus C. H. Turner, *Monu-*

menta, I, 2, 3, 533.—The council was held in 343, and not 342: see *VDC,* 313-324.

2) Presidency: Ossius presided over this council, too: Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad mon.,* 15:

> *Those who came from the West were bishops only, having Hosius as their father.*

and *ibid.,* 16:

> *The Holy Synod, whose spokesman was the great Hosius.*

Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.,* II, 15:

> *This Hosius was bishop of Cordova: he had been prominent at the Nicene Council, and presided over the bishops meeting at Sardica.*

Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.,* III, 12:

> *Hosius and Protogenes were the leaders of the western bishops meeting at Sardica.*

Also, Ossius' name heads the list of signatures to the synodical letter addressed to Pope Julius, both in the *Fragmenta Historica* of Hilary of Poitiers, and in the *Apologia contra Arianos* of Athanasius.

3) Ossius negotiates with the Eastern bishops at Serdica: Letter of Ossius to Constantius (Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad mon.,* 44):

> *I was present at the Council of Sardica when you and your brother Constans, of blessed memory, assembled us all together; and on my own account I challenged the enemies of Athanasius when they came to the church where I abode, that if they had anything against him they might declare it; desiring them to have confidence and not to expect otherwise than that a right judgment would be passed in all things. This I did once and again, requesting them if they were unwilling to appear before the whole council, yet to appear before me alone; promising them also that if he should be proved guilty he should certainly be rejected by us; but if he should be found to be blameless and should prove them to be calumniators, that if they should then refuse to hold communion with him, I would persuade him to go with me into the Spains. Athanasius was willing to comply with these conditions and made no objection to my proposal; but they altogether distrusting their cause would not consent.* (*PNF,* IV, 285)

4) The Profession of faith of Ossius and Protogenes: This document appears as an appendix to the synodical letter of the orthodox assembly in Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.,* II, 8; in Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita,* IV, 24; in the *Collectio Theodosii Diaconi* (ed. Turner, *Monumenta,* I, 2, 651-653). All three versions show signs of corruption: Loofs has attempted to restore the Greek text ("Das Glaubensbekentniss der Homousianer von Sardica," *Abhandlungen Berlin,* 1909-1-39), but several of his readings remain questionable.

The authorship of this formulary must be ascribed to Ossius and Protogenes, bishop of Serdica:

Letter of Ossius and Protogenes to Pope Julius (in the *Collectio Theodosii Diaconi,* ed. Turner, *Monumenta,* I, 2, 644):

> *To our beloved brother Julius, Ossius and Protogenes. We hold and keep in our possession the writing containing the Catholic Faith drawn up at Nicaea and agreed upon by all the bishops present. But, because ever since then, the disciples of Arius have (again) stirred up blasphemies—for, three questions were brought up: that there was when He was not . . .* (the rest of this sentence is lacking)*—lest anyone deceived by these three arguments deny the faith, and in order to preclude their victory, we deemed it imperative to inform your kindness, dearly beloved brother, that it pleased (us): that the former (Nicene) creed remain firm and valid, but that the following (formulary), with a more abundant exposition of the truth, be propounded so that all those teaching and catechising be better enlightened and that the opponents be overwhelmed and hold fast the catholic and apostolic faith.*

Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.,* III, 12:

> *Those with Hosius compiled another document of faith which was more copious than that of Nicaea, although the same thought was carefully preserved and very little change was made in the words of that instrument. Hosius and Protogenes, who held the first rank among the Western bishops assembled at Sardica, fearing perhaps they should be suspected of making any innovations upon the doctrines of the Nicene Council, wrote to Julius and testified that they were firmly attached to these doctrines but, pressed by the need of perspicuity, they*

had to expand the identical thought in order that the Arians might not take advantage of the brevity of the document to draw those who were unskilled in dialectics into some absurdity. (*PNF,* II, 290)

Athanasius, however, categorically denies that this formulary was adopted by the orthodox assembly of Serdica, in *Tomus ad Antiochenos,* 5:

The Sardican Synod made no definition of the kind. For whereas some demanded, on the ground that the Nicene Synod was defective, the drafting of a creed, and in their haste even attempted it, the holy synod assembled in Sardica was indignant and decreed that no statement of faith should be drafted, but that they should be content with the faith confessed by the fathers at Nicaea, inasmuch as it lacked nothing but was full of piety, and that it was undesirable for a second creed to be promulgated, lest that drafted at Nicaea should be deemed imperfect and a pretext be given to those who were often wishing to draft and define a creed. (*PNF,* IV, 484)

On this question, and other problems connected with this formulary, see Loofs, *art. cit.*; J. N. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds,* London 1950, 277-279; *VDC,* 362-376.

5) The Canons of Serdica: the great majority of them were proposed by Ossius, see the critical Latin and Greek text in Turner, *Monumenta,* I, 2, 441-560. In the Middle Ages they were known as "the sentences of Ossius," because of the phrase in *De Viris Illustribus,* 5, of Isidore of Seville: "At the Council of Serdica Ossius set forth numerous sentences."

Letter of Pope Liberius to Ossius (353-4): it was written after the Council of Arles (353) where the Western bishops, and even the Pope's own legates, yielded to the threats of Constantius and condemned Athanasius. The Latin text is found in Hilary of Poitiers, *Fragmenta Historica,* B 7 (OSEL LXV, 167):

As I deemed it proper that you should not be left uninformed of any happenings, I wish to inform you that many of our Italian fellow-bishops convened in synod, and together we implored our most religious emperor Constantius to issue summons for a council to be held at Aquileia, according to his own express desire. Your Holiness should know that Vincentius of

Capua and Marcellus, another Campanian bishop, were charged to represent us. Vincentius was well informed on the whole matter and has frequently acted as judge in the same, together with your Holiness. Therefore, we had heavily counted on him and we thought we could trust him to preserve intact the rights of the Gospel and of his mission. Alas, not only did he gain nothing, but he let himself be dragged into this hypocrisy. On account of these events, and crushed by this double grief, I would rather choose to die for God's sake, so as not to be regarded myself as the latest traitor, not to appear to consent to decisions contradicting the Gospel.

Letter of Ossius to the Emperor Constantius (355-6): Soon after Liberius had been sent into exile (355), the court Arians urged Constantius to exert pressure upon Ossius in order to make him condemn Athanasius. The bishop of Cordova was summoned to the court at Milan, refused to comply, but was nevertheless permitted to return to Spain. Soon afterwards, however, the emperor wrote him in threatening terms: "Be persuaded and subscribe against Athanasius." In answer Ossius wrote a courageous letter, the text of which is given by Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad mon.*, 44 (the English translation in *PNF*, IV, 285-286).

Ossius in Exile at Sirmium (356-7):

Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad mon.*, 45:
Constantius sent for Hosius and instead of banishing him detained him for a whole year at Sirmium.
Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 31:
A short time before Hosius had been sent into exile by the intrigues of the Arians.

Ossius Signs the Anomoean Creed of Sirmium (357):

In the summer of 357, the Anomoean leaders Valens, Ursacius, and Germinius held a synod at Sirmium and adopted a frankly Arian creed, the so-called Second Formulary of Sirmium. Ossius, still detained in the city, was forced to attend the assembly, and by threats and physical violence, prevailed upon to sign the creed: Foebadius of Agen, *Liber contra Arianos*, 23:

I know very well that, in order to deter us from contradicting these doctrines (viz. of the Anomoeans) the name of the most

venerable and forever orthodox bishop Hosius is being used as battering-ram against us. But those using this stratagem against us, I shall answer very briefly. His authority does not constitute peremptory evidence to me: for either he errs now or has been in error all the time. The whole world knows what beliefs he has held up to a very advanced age, with what firmness he approved the decisions of Nicaea and condemned the Arians. So what does it prove now, if he has changed his beliefs, defending what he condemned and condemning what he defended? . . . If for over ninety years he has held the wrong faith, then I refuse to believe that after ninety years he has found the right faith.

Athanasius, *Apologia de fuga sua,* 5:

Yet even on this man (Ossius) they made their assault, because knowing the calumnies which they invent in behalf of their iniquity, he would not subscribe to their designs against us. And if, afterwards, upon the repeated stripes above measure that were inflicted upon him, and the conspiracies that were formed against his kinsfolk, he yielded to them for a time, as being old and infirm in body, yet at least their wickedness is shown even in this circumstance. (*PNF* IV, 256)

Athanasius, *Apologia contra Arianos,* 89:

For although for a little while, through fear of the threats of Constantius, he seemed not to resist them, yet the great violence and tyrannical power exercised by Constantius and the many insults and stripes inflicted upon him, proved that it was not because he gave up my cause, but through the weakness of his age, being unable to bear the stripes, that he yielded to them for a season. (*PNF,* IV, 147)

Hilary of Poitiers, in his treatise *De Synodis,* written in 358, calls the Second Formulary of Sirmium "the sentence of Potamius and Ossius" (ch. 3) and "the blasphemy written at Sirmium by Ossius and Potamius" (ch. 11). In ch. 63 he says that "At Sirmium, through the agency of Ossius foresaking his own deeds and words, a new but long-nurtured doctrine of impiety had erupted."

George of Laodicea (in Epiphanius, *Panarion haereseon,* 73, 1, 8):

The Anomoeans were the first to proclaim in writing that the Son is dissimilar from the Father, even as they thought they could condemn the Church through the letter which they so eagerly sought to obtain from the venerable bishop Hosius, and in which is found the expression "dissimilar as to the essence."

Eusebius of Vercelli in a letter to Gregory of Elvira congratulates him

"because as becomes a bishop and priest of God, he opposed the prevaricator Ossius." (Hilary of Poitiers, Fragmenta Historica, A, II, 1)

See the other testimonies on the fall of Ossius in *VDC,* 474-500.

Recantation and Death of Ossius (358):

Athanasius, *Hist. Arian. ad mon.,* 45:

Constantius used such violence towards the old man and confined him so straitly that at last, broken by suffering, he was brought, though hardly, to hold communion with Valens, Ursacius, and their fellows, though he would not subscribe against Athanasius. Yet even thus he forgot not his duty, for at the approach of death, as it were by his last testament, he bore witness to the force which had been used towards him, and anathematized the Arian heresy, and gave strict charge that no one should receive it. (*PNF,* IV, 287)

Since this was written in the early part of 358, the death of Ossius must be assigned to the winter of 357-8.

Writings:

Ossius was foremost a man of action and his literary production is very small. We possess of him:

1) The canons of Serdica: the original and authentic version is given in the Latin, not the Greek text (see on this *VDC,* 380-385). All previous editions have been superseded by the critical edition by C. H. Turner, *Monumenta,* I, 2, 441-560.

2) A Letter to Constantius, contained in Athanasius' *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos,* 44 (MG XXV, 744-748 and Opitz, *Athanasius' Werke,* II, 1, 4). This must be a Greek translation of the original Latin text.

3) The Profession of Faith of Ossius and Protogenes with a dedicatory letter to Pope Julius: see *supra*, p. 59.

4) Ossius probably took part in drafting three of the synodical letters of the orthodox assembly of Serdica, viz.:

a) Letter to the Churches of the Mareotis: edited from the *Collectio Theodosii Diaconi* by Turner, Monumenta, I, 2, 657-658.

b) Letter to Pope Julius: given by Hilary of Poitiers in the *Fragmenta Historica*, B, II, 2 (ed. Feder, CSEL, LXV, 126-129).

c) Letter to the Emperor Constantius: the so-called *Liber I ad Constantium Imperatorem* of Hilary of Poitiers (ed. Feder, CSEL, LXV, 181-184).

Non-extant Work:

De Laude Virginitatis or On the Praise of Virginity, mentioned by Isidore of Seville in his *De Viris Illustribus*, 5:

> *Ossius, bishop of Cordova, addressed to his sister a letter on the praise of virginity, written in a beautiful and clear style.*

Spurious Works:

1) De Interpretatione vestium sacerdotalium or Explanation of the High Priest's Vestments: the mention of this work in the Migne edition of Isidore's *De Viris Illustribus* (ML, 83, 1086) does not belong to the original text. Thus M. Ihm, "Zu Isidors Viri Illustres," in *Festschrift Otto Hirschfeld, Berlin* 1903, 341-344.

2) De Observatione disciplinae dominicae or On the Observation of the Lord's Discipline, consisting in forty-nine very short precepts. They were attributed to Ossius by their editor J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra et Classica Spicilegio Solesmensi Parata*, Paris 1888, 116-117, but this attribution is commonly rejected: see O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 2. ed. 1923, III, 394-5.

THE COMES THEODOSIUS
A Prosopography

Among Christians of Spanish (or Iberean) origin, Theodosius the Great (Gibbon denies him the title) and his family loom large. Hence, a prosopographical study of his father, the Comes Theodosius, is highly desirable in this series, all the more so, since the greatness of the family, as the following data will show, stems in no small measure from him. Furthermore, since both Gibbon and after him Seeck have consistently denigrated Theodosius the Great, a presentation of the evidence, *sine ira et odio,* in other words a prosopographical study, should contribute to judicial calm.

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Löffler. Eduard, *Der Comes Theodosius,* Dissert., Halle a.S., 1885. Among modern works devoted to Theodosius' father this is the first in order of time which deals exclusively with the subject.

W. Ennslin, *Real Enzyklopädie der Althertumswissenschaft,* hereafter referred to as P-W-K, II 5, 1937, Nr. 9, *Theodosios* (1936).

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Name:

We have unexceptionable testimony for this in a Calabrian inscription: *To FLAVIUS THEODOSIUS, a man of famous and hallowed memory . . . .* CIL IX (Dessau 780). Since this is an honorific inscription and the name of the responsible official, Flavius Sextio, corrector of Apulia and Calabria, appears on the stone (line 17) his name is beyond question.

Birth:

The date of his birth is nowhere attested in the documentation hitherto available. We are reduced to surmises. Since Theodosius died in the flower of his age, after strenuous and victorious campaigns, he was not much more than 55 years old at the time of his execution in 376 (cf. below).

Birthplace:

According to Zosimus (*Historia Nea* IV 24, 7) his son was born at Cauca (modern Coca, cf. Löffler, *Der Comes Theodosius,* p. 3, n.1) where lay his estates. The *Chronicon* of Idatius (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* A.A.XI, Chron. II 14, 2, ed. Mommsen), who was born in Lemica in Gallecia, a contemporary of the future emperor's immediate descendants, confirms this. Sozo-

men (*Historia Ecclesiastica* VII 2) says that the Emperor was born in that part of Spain which borders on the Pyrenees. In all probability then the Comes Theodosius also came from that part of Spain. But a more important witness, the spokesman of the Gallic Provinces, Pacatus Drepanus, on the occasion of the Emperor Theodosius' victory against the pretender, Maximinus in 389, says in the *sovereign's presence:*

This country (Spain) sent forth for imperial command the famous Trajan, then also Hadrian; it is to this country (Spain) that the Empire owes you.

Family—Wife:

Again according to Pacatus (loc. cit.):

For in the first place your mother was a Spaniard ("your" the Emperor's). Unfortunately, this is indefinite enough and tells us nothing about her name and origins. We are not helped in spite of the ingenious suggestions of Gatti (*Rendiconti della reale Acad. dei Lincei,* 1902, 586) who restores (*Thermanti*)*a* in an inscription (Dessau 8950) found on the Via Sacra. It reads: *To* (*Thermantia*) *lady of most revered and exalted memory, wife of the divine Theodosius, Illustrious Count and Master of the Horse and Foot, mother of our Lord Theodosius, Augustus for ever, grandmother of our Lords, Arcadius, most brave Princeps and of Honorius, most affectionate youth etc.*

On the basis of such evidence, viz., the final letter of the name, Ennslin thinks that, despite Ps.-Victor 48, 1, invoked by Gatti, one cannot conclude even with probability. Instead he suggests *Serena,* a woman's name common in the family of Theodosius (cf. Claudian's *Laus Serenae*).

Children:

Besides the future emperor there is record of another son, Honorius (P-W-K VIII II 2277, 2) (P-W-K VI 882, 2) and a daughter, married to Syagrius (Ps.-Victor, Epit. 48, 18) (For Syagrius cf. P-W-K IV A 998, 2 where the scanty evidence on this son-in-law of the Comes Theodosius is collected).

Brother:

Eucherius receives imperial rescripts and is therefore mentioned in the *Theodosian Code* (v.g. I 32, 3) issued by Valens, Gratian and Valentinian on March 29, 377, when he was *comes sacrarum largitionum.* Recently (1959) A. Alföldi, The *Clash between Valentinian I and the Guardians of the Traditions of Rome,* p. 91, notes 1 and 2, draws attention to the fierce court intrigues in which he was probably involved. His prosopography will be presented in these pages shortly. Syagrius is mentioned in the same context as Eucherius but the name of the Comes' daughter whom he married, is not given.

Other Brothers:

Symmachus (Epist. X 64) speaks of *"the unconquerable brothers of your Highness"* and St. Ambrose writes in Ep. 40: *"I chose thee from thy brothers, the younger one, and from a private citizen I made thee emperor."* But we have no further identification of these close of kin. Löffler (op. cit., p. 6 n.1) notes that it has been conjectured they were children by another marriage.

Relationship With Trajan:

Only the Eastern rhetoricians indulge in explicit allegation, people like Themistius (*Orat.* XVI, ed. Dindorf 250) who speaks of Trajan "thy forbear" or of Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus "thy fellow-citizens" (ibid., XIX, p. 279). Claudian, the court-poet of Honorius is more cautious:

> *Not unworthy of reverence nor but recently acquainted with war is the family of Trajan and that Spanish house which has showered diadems upon the world.* (*De Quarto Consulatu Honorii,* 18-29, trans. by Maurice Platnauer in *Claudian,* Loeb Class. Series).
> *Rich (Spain) in horses, bounteous in crops, dowered with mines, prolific in GOOD EMPERORS, to thee the world owes Trajan, from thee sprang the Aelian race. From thy land came the brothers who now govern us and their father.* (Ibid., 55 ff.)

And Pacatus is just as moderate. Cf. above (under Birth-Place). More than two centuries ago old Tillemont (*Histoire des Empereures* V 726, n.1) had detected the unlikelihood of any blood relationship and Rauschen, *Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirche unter Theodosius,* p. 41 reiterates this.

Career:

The principal source for this period of his life is Ammianus Marcellinus who consistently applauds his military prowess and his soldierly qualities with detailed examples of his performance. (All translations of Marcellinus excerpts are taken from the Loeb Classical Library translation by J. D. Rolfe. Hereafter all references to this work will be designated *Rolfe*).

In the account of Ammianus Marcellinus the first major accomplishment of the *Comes* is the subjugation of Britain and the extension of the northern frontiers. According to E. Nischer (*Hermes,* LXIII 1928, pp. 443 ff.) he had probably reached the rank of *comes* and in all likelihood was *comes domesticorum* and *vir illustris.* (On the military and civil hierarchy of the Empire under Theodosius and his immediate successors, cf. Hoepfner, *Rev. Et. Lat.,* 14 (1936) 119 ff. (A very useful glossary in the English translation of the *Theodosian Code* by Clyde Pharr and associates, Princeton, 1952).

Britain:

In 368 Ammianus relates (XXVII 8, 3 Rolfe, III, p. 51, 3): *Finally, because of the many alarming things . . . about that same island* (Britain), *Theodosius, a man most favorably known for his services in war, was chosen to be sent there . . . preceded by brilliant expectations.* The seriousness of the situation and the esteem in which Theodosius was held can be gathered from Ammianus' comments on the crisis of the year 368:

XXVI 4, 5 (Rolfe, p. 587, 5): *At the same time the Alamanni were devastating Gaul and Raetia, the Sarmates and Quadi Pannonia, while the Picts, Saxons, Scots and Attacotti were harassing the Britons with constant disasters.*

Comes Domesticorum: It is not at all established that his official title at this time was the same as Severus, a contemporary functionary. Nischer (*Her-*

mes, LXIII 443) argues that similar operations require generals with the same titles. Against this (as Ennslin points out) there is the testimony of Ammianus, a close contemporary. In XXVII 8, 6 (Rolfe, III, p. 53, 6), XXVIII 3, 1 (Rolfe, II, p. 131, 1) and XXVIII 3, 2 (Rolfe, III, p. 131, 1) he is referred to as *dux efficacissimus* or *dux nominis inclyti* and *praeclari ducis* in connection with the campaign in Britain. In later campaigns in Mauretania in 373 he is quoted by Ammianus as referring to himself as *Comes Valentiniani* (XXIX 5, 46, Rolfe, III, p. 275) in spite of the fact that he was already *magister militum.* Consequently, Ennslin thinks that his title at the time of the war in Britain (368) was probably *comes litoris Saxonis* or *comes Britannarum.*

Campaign in Britain:

Ammianus, XXVII 8, 7.8 (Rolfe, III, p. 55, 7) says that Batavi, Heruli, Jovii and Victores constituted his forces. When they arrived *"he divided his troops into many parts and attacked the predatory bands of the enemy"* operating against *"the old town of Lundinium, which later times called Augusta."*

London taken: When the stolen booty had been restored to the townsmen *"except for a small part which was allotted to the wearied soldiers, he entered the city . . . . more quickly than rescue could have been expected . . . .* (AMM. Marc. XXVII 8.8: Rolfe, III p. 55)

Guerilla warfare: since he learned from captives and deserters that . . . the enemy . . . . could be overcome only by secret craft and unforeseen attacks (XXVII 8, 9: Rolfe, III p. 55) his operations had to be correspondingly adapted. *Civilis is Vicarius Britannarum and Dulcitius Dux Britannarum: Theodosius . . . . asked that Civilis be sent to him to govern Britain as deputy-prefect . . . . and also Dulcitius, a general distinguished for his knowledge of war* (XXVII 8, 10: Rolfe III, p. 57).

Subjugation of Britain Continued:

Valentinus, an exile from Pannonia, tried to revolt but was crushed by Theodosius in 369 (XXX 7, 10: Rolfe III 357 and XXVIII, 3, 6: Rolfe III 133). *Valentinus indeed, along with a few of his closest associates he had consigned to the general Dulcitius* (his deputy, cf. above, XXVII 8, 10) *to be punished with death; but with the military knowledge in which he surpassed all his contemporaries . . . and as to the rest of the conspirators forbade investigations lest . . . disturbances in the provinces . . . should be revived.* (For the identity of this Valentinus cf. P-W-K, Suppl.—Band V 663, 6). The region conquered by Theodosius' efforts has been located between Hadrian's Wall and the Wall of Antoninus. While Ammianus is not very helpful in the location he does say (XXVIII 3, 8: Rolfe III, p. 135) that after restoring normal conditions, viz., a *legitimate governor, it was henceforth called Valentia, in accordance with the emperor's wish.* The controversy on the exact location of the conquered area has been led by Foord, *Last Age of Roman Britain* (1925) Richter (1865) and Kiepert. They maintain that the parts conquered are included between the Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus. Against them is ranged Haverfeld (in *Cambridge Medieval History* I 378). Ennslin in P-W-K (loc. cit.) finds support for Foord in CIL IX 333 (Dessau 780) where among the

titles to fame of the Comes Theodosius *propagatus terrarum orbis* is mentioned, viz., that he *extended* the Roman dominion.

Threats to imperial authority: Besides the rebellion of Valentinus (cf. supra) an obscure army division is mentioned by Ammianus (XXVIII 3, 8: Rolfe, III p. 135, 8): . . . *the Arcani, a class of men established in early times, about which I said something in the history of Constans, had gradually become corrupted, and consequently he removed them from their posts.*

Egger (op. cit., p. 13, n.1) disputes the conjecture of Clark and would read *Areanos* instead of *Arcanos.* Just as in the Odenwald, for instance, inscriptions prove the presence of "British" troops (cf. *Obergerm. rhaet. Limes,* XLIV, 1926, pp. 34 ff. and Fabricius in P-W-K, s.v. *Limes,* col. 593), so in Britain non-British personnel were probably present. He argues that the term Areani is probably borrowed from a German dialect and means something like a frontier-guard or scout.

Conclusion of the Campaign in Britain: The report of Ammianus (XXVIII 3, 9: Rolfe III p. 137, 9) reads: . . . *because of his general popularity he was escorted as far as the straight (the Channel) . . . and entered the Emperor's* (immediate) *service . . . and succeeded to the position of Jovinus whom the emperor Valentinian considered lacking in energy.* On the same campaign there is the oratorical effusion of Pacatus (5, 2, p. 93 op. cit.): *Shall I recall Britain worn out by infantry battles? The Saxon will present himself, exhausted by naval wars. Shall I mention the Scot, thrust back into his bogs? . . .*

Besides Symmachus (*Rel.* 9, 4, 43, 2 in *MGH* A.A. VI 1 p. 287 ff. and 314, 13 ff.) who dwells briefly on this part of the Comes' career, St. Jerome (Ad a. 2387, ed. Seeck p. 328, *MGH*) alludes to it in the succinct manner of the chronographer. Zosimus (*Historia NEA* IV 12, 2) returns to the same theme. The oritund verses of Claudian destined for the subject's grandson, Honorius, say as much as the foregoing.

In the *De Tertio Consulatu Honorii,* lines 51-60 (Platnauer's translation in Loeb Classicas Series) he says: *And the more to inflame thy heart with love of battle he would recount to thee the deeds of thy grandsire, object of dread to . . . THULE whither no ship can sail. He conquered the . . . well-maned PICTS; his roaming sword pursued the flying SCOT; his adventurous oars broke the northern seas. Crowned with the spoils of triumphs won beneath the northern and the southern sky he trod the wave-swept strand of either Ocean.*

The same theme is treated in the De IV Consulatu of the same emperor (lines 21-40): *Ocean laved their cradle, for it befitted the future lords of earth and sea to have their origin in the great father of all things. Hence came Theodosius, GRANDFATHER OF HONORIUS for whom, exultant after his NORTHERN victories, Africa twined fresh laurels won from the Massylae. 'Twas he who pitched his camp amid the snows of Caledonis, who never doffed helmet for all the heat of a Libyan summer, who struck terror into the Moors, brought into subjection the coasts of Britain and with equal success laid waste the north and south. What avail against him the eternal snows, the frozen air, the uncharted sea? THE ORCADES RAN RED WITH SAXON*

SLAUGHTER; THULE WAS WARM WITH THE BLOOD OF PICTS; ICE-BOUND HIBERNIA WEPT FOR THE HEAPS OF SLAIN SCOTS. (*Locus classicus* quoted or mentioned as early as Tillemont, found *verbatim* in Löffler, op. cit., p. 10).

The sober simplicity of the Drenovo inscription (near Stobi, capital of Macedonia Salutaris during the late Empire) must be quoted here. In that document the Comes Theodosius is referred to as *mighty terror of Saxony.* According to Egger (op. cit., p. 14) the victory over the Saxons, mentioned by Pacatus (op. cit., p. 93, 16) and extolled by Claudian, is the *only* one gained by Theodosius. The other mention of conflict with the Saxons occurs in Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVII 8, 5) when they were allied with the Franks and devastated the coasts of Gaul. Egger thinks that Theodosius had the same competence, as Caurausius once had, viz., the south of Britain and northern Gaul, i.e., the coasts. In dating these operations Egger declares himself for the period during or before his campaign in Britain but definitely against a later date (as, for instance, Löffler does, *op. cit.,* p. 12). Heering, *Kaiser Valentinian I,* p. 51 (Diss. Iena, 1927) puts the battles with the Saxons in 368. Against this N. H. Baynes (*Cambridge Medieval History I* p. 223) holds out for the period during the campaign in Britain, 368-369. Victories on the Lower Rhine, commentators commonly agree, are the reason for the cognomen *Francicus,* given Valentinian in the inscription found on the bridge of Santo Bartolomaeo (CIL VI 1175, Dessau 771). Cf. Egger, op. cit., p. 15. Only Jullian (Histoire de la Gaule VII p. 239, n.1) derives this name from victories won in Britain, alleging that the term *Francicus* also included Saxons. But Reiche, *Chronologie der letzten 66 Bücher des Ammians,* Diss. Iena, 1889, p. 21, *L. Schmidt, Geschichte der deutschen Stamme II,* p. 448 and Seeck, op. cit., V. pp. 33 and 433 all oppose Julian. (cf. Egger, op. cit. p. 15).

Even in the Latin translation of Josephus, Bell. Iud. V 15, 14 (cf. Egger, *loc. cit.*) this phase of Theodosius' career is dealt with.

Date of Saxon Operations:

Ennslin dates these operations 368 and is supported by L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme, II,* 41 by F. Lot, Rev. Hist. t. 119 (1915) p. 8 ff.

The preceding remarks on the Drenovo inscription with reference to Britain are reinforced if the correction of Vulič (cf. Ennslin, *op. cit.*) is correct. According to him, *Chárma méga Dardánon* should read *Brittanon.* Quite apart from the epigraphical merits of this "correction," the antecedent probability of a record on stone of the British operations seems greater than the mention of the admittedly (cf. Egger, *op. cit.,* p. 17) lesser operations in Moesia, viz., in the Dardanian country. The inscription also records (Egger, *op. cit.,* p. 14) the fighting in Gaul with the (line 12) acclamation *lutera kai genous Kelton.* Finally, even the Latin translation of Josephus, Bell. Iud. V 15, 14 (*Migne Patres Latini,* XV 2250) refers to the events in the British campaign when he says:

> tremit hos (Romanos) *Scotia,* quae terris nihil debet, tremit *Saxonia* inaccessa paludibus et inviis septa regionibus.
> *Scotia* (*Ireland*) *which is bound to no countries is afraid of them* (*Romans*),

Saxony, hard of approach in its marshes and hemmed round by roadless wastes, trembles before them.

As early as the 17th century the great scholar Gronovius referred this passage to Theodosius (cf. Egger, op. cit., p. 15). At the end of 369 or the beginning of 370 must be placed the following account in Ammianus (XXVIII 3, 9: Rolfe III, p. 137): ". . . *He was received (by Valentinian) with joy and words of praise, and succeeded to the position of Jovinus, commander of the cavalry forces, whom the emperor Valentinian considered lacking in energy.* From this it it concluded that he became *Magister equitum praesentalis* (cf. Nischer, Hermes LXIII 441.443) and Ennslin, Klio XXIV 125 ff. and XXIII 318).

In this context the Theodosian Code, 3, 14, 1 is relevant. The first English translator of the Code, Clyde Pharr, leaves the dating difficulty unsolved. The introductory formula reads as follows: *Emperors Valentinian and Valens Augustuses to Theodosius, Master of the Horse.* In a note the editor handles the date as follows: "December 28, 370 *or* 373; May 28, 368." Note 3 comments: Since Theodosius BECAME MASTER OF THE HORSE IN 369, M(ommsen) assigns this constitution to 370." As supporting evidence he gives the foregoing text of Ammianus (XXVIII 3, 9).

Operations against the Alammani (370). *In 370 Theodosius, at that time commander of the cavalry, made an attack through Raetia upon the Alamanni, who through fear of the aforesaid (Burgundians) people were scattered; he killed many of them, and by the emperor's order sent all his prisoners to Italy, where they received fertile cantons, and now live as our subjects on the banks of the Po.* (Amm. XXVIII 5, 16; Rolfe III p. 169).

The same events are recorded by Pacatus 5, 2 (p. 93, 21 f. Baehrens) and 4 f. (Baehrens p. 94, 2). Further commentary on these incidents is supplied by Heering, *loc. cit.* 39; L. Schmidt, *loc. cit.* II. 289 and by Egger, *loc. cit.* 15. All agree that the adversary conquered were the Alamanni not the Burgundians (as Solari would have it). During this period Theodosius remained in the immediate entourage of Valentinian and in 372 Ammianus XXIX 4, 5 (Rolfe III p. 243) relates that *a large force of cavalry was ordered to precede them* (the infantry advancing into the country of Macrianus, king of the Alamanni) *under the command of Theodosius . . . . but he was prevented by the continuous noise made by his men; . . . .* so that Macrianus escaped.

The events are placed in 372 by Ennslin until Seeck's assumption that Nasonacum was on German soil is disproved. Egger (loc. cit., pp. 16 and 22) dissents. His reason for putting the activities of Theodosius in 371 is that the rescript of Valentinian, Valens and Gratian to Julian, Proconsul of Africa, was given from Mainz on Sept. 6, 371 (Cod. Theod., XV 7, 2). He argues that Valentinian could very well conduct from Mainz his operations against the Bucinobantes in the area of Wiesbaden (Aquae Mattiacae) (Amm. Marc. XXIX 4, 7) and return to the base at Mainz (Moguntiacum).

Ascendance over Valentinian not complete. The account of Ammianus (XXIX 3, 6: Rolfe III. p. 237, 6) makes this clear:

Africanus, a busy pleader of cases at law in the city, after governing a province, aspired to the rule of another; but when Theodosius, general of the cavalry, supported him in his request the kind emperor gave this somewhat boorish reply: "Go, general, and change his head for him, since he wants a change in his province." And by this warrant an eloquent man lost his life merely for hastening, like many others, for advancement.

The repulse of the Sarmatians, according to Egger (op. cit., pp. 17 and 18) must be dated 372-373. In the summer of 373, he says, Theodosius assumed command in Africa never to return. The words of the inscription *chárma méga Dardánōn* according to him, are proof that Theodosius did conduct war in these regions. Now the evidence of Ammianus (XXIX 8, 15) runs as follows:

At the time of these losses due to a harsher fortune, Theodosius the YOUNGER, general in Moesia (present-day Northern Yugoslavia and Bulgaria) a young man whose beard was only then just beginning to appear, . . . wore out by frequent engagements, drove back and defeated the Free Sarmatians . . . .

Egger asks himself whether we are to assume two engagements with the Sarmatae, one repelled by the son and the other by the father or could Pacatus (*op. cit.*, 5, 2) have attributed the father's victory to the son? Now, the inroads of the Sarmatae were not isolated affairs and so not all of them got into written records. However, some isolated military engagements did find their way into the public records, as, for instance, some smaller battles of Julian the Apostate (cf. Dessau 8945 from modern Sofia and an inscription from Beirut in Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale, II 1907, p. 266). Ennslin concurs in the judgement that Theodosius achieved a victory over the Sarmatae. Heering (*op. cit.*) assigns the "Sarmatian victory" to the operations against the Alamanni in 370. Ennslin points out that Pacatus in his address had before him Theodosius the Great who accompanied his father on all his campaigns except the African. It was also in 372-373, Ennslin thinks, that Theodosius along with Equitius, *Magister Equitum*, could have been entrusted with the prosecution of the tribunes, Claudius and Sallustius, reported by Ammianus XXIX 3, 7; Rolfe III, p. 237.

Claudius and Sallustius, of the Jovian legion, who had advanced as far as the rank of tribune, were accused by a fellow (of low origin) *. . . on the ground that when Procopius* (confidant of Julian the Apostate) *had aspired to the imperial power they had spoken some good words for him; but although constant inquisitions revealed nothing the emperor ordered the GENERALS OF THE CAVALRY, who were hearing the case to drive Claudius into exile and condemn Sallustius to death, promising to pardon the latter on his way to execution.*

Campaign Against Firmus

(The article on Firmus in P-W-K VI 2383 is a useful complement.) The report of Ammianus XXIX 4: Rolfe III p. 249: *To avert this danger before an implacable enemy should increase in strength, Theodosius, commander of the cavalry,*

was sent with a small body of the court troops. The kind and numbers of troops at the disposal of Theodosius is also adverted to by Zosimus IV 16, 3:

> ὅπερ ἀπαγγελθὲν εἰκότως Βαλεντινιανὸν συνετάραξεν. Καὶ παραχρῆμα τάγματά τινα στρατιωτικὰ τὴν ἐν Παιονίᾳ καὶ Μυσίᾳ τη ἄνω καταλιπόντα φυλακὴν ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἐκπλεῦσαι προσέταξε.

The Pannonian and Moesian origin of the troops with Theodosius is born out also by Pacatus 5, 2 (MGH A.A. p. 93, 17 F.).

Departure From Arelate in 373

This incident and the landing at Igilgili is ascribed to the year 372 by Heering (47) and by Egger (22, 1). Exact determination of the date does not distinguish the account of Ammianus XXIX 5, 5.6.7: Rolfe III p. 249, 5:

> *. . . setting out from Arles under favorable auspices . . . with the fleet under his command . . . he landed on the coast of Sitifian Mauretania, which the natives call Igilgilitanum . . . Romanus he sent to take charge of . . . the guards and frontier defenses with a very slight rebuke for the conduct which made him apprehensive. T . . . sent Gildo, the brother of Firmus and Maximus to arrest Vincentius, who . . . participated in . . . thefts* (of Romanus). *Then after being joined by his troops . . . delayed by the long sea voyage he hastened to Sitifis, and gave orders that Romanus . . . be kept in custody.*

The troops who accompanied Theodosius up to this point undoubtedly were the *Comitatenses* (cf. Cagnat, *L'Armée romaine d'Afrique*) The Romanus (cf. P-W-K I A 1065, 3) here mentioned is another Verres. The gradual procedure against him on the part of Theodosius, in the view of Ammianus, are of a piece with his whole career, justice tempered with prudence and energy. *Evidence against Romanus Secured* (Ammianus XXVIII 6, 21: Rolfe III p. 183, 26):

> *. . . when Theodosius examined the moveable property of Romanus, there was found also among his papers the letter of one Meterius, containing the words . . . . "The disgraced Palladius* (a minor official, tribune and secretary, sent by Valentinian to investigate the true state of affairs in the government of Romanus and to pay the soldiers their wages) *salutes you, and says that he was deposed for no other reason than that in the cause of the people of Tripolis he spoke to the sacred ears what was not true."* This discovery of evidence played a fateful part in the death of Theodosius.

Operations Against Firmus

Having disposed of corrupt and demoralising officials Theodosius now took up the business which was presumably his primary mandate in Africa, viz., quelling the rebellion of Firmus. His conduct followed the basic pattern exemplified hitherto, justice, firmness and energy. The attitude adopted toward Romanus prepared the way, as Ammianus (XXIX 5. 8.9.10: Rolfe III p. 251 ff.) tells us:

> *. . . Firmus, overcome by the arrival of so brilliant a general, sent envoys*

with a letter . . . declaring that he had not of his own volition taken a hasty step . . . BUT BECAUSE OF THE UNJUST AND OUTRAGEOUS TREATMENT OF ROMANUS.

After demanding hostages from Firmus, Theodosius proceeds to *statio Panchariana* (Ennslin: possibly Baccarus of the *Tabula Peutingeriana,* as suggested by Cagnat, *op. cit.* 83, 1) in order, as Ammianus continues (ibid., 9):

to review the legions which were guarding Africa . . . . There he roused the hope of all by a lofty but discreet address, and returned to Sitifis, WHERE HE UNITED THE NATIVE TROOPS AND THOSE WHICH HE HIMSELF HAD BROUGHT . . . he made himself immensely more beloved by this—THAT HE DID NOT ALLOW THE PROVINCIALS TO FURNISH SUPPLIES FOR THE ARMY . . . .

According as we read *consociato* or *concitato* Theodosius did not or did levy native troops. With Ennslin we follow Clark's reading: Theodosius did *not* draw on the province. Apparently, the troops mentioned by Zosimus (IV 16, 3, cf. *supra,* CAMPAIGN AGAINST FIRMUS) must have been sent subsequently to his landing in Africa. For the forces which accompanied him in the initial landings were the *comitatenses* (cf. *supra,* under DEPARTURE FROM ARELATE)

Advance from Africa Sitifensis Westward

In Ammianus' account the progress of Theodosius after his review of the troops at Pancharia was to Tubusuptum *a town near Mount Ferratus,* where he refused to treat with Firmus *because contrary to the previous agreement* no hostages had been given (Amm. M. XXIX 5, 11: Rolfe III p. 253). From this point he continued eastward against the *Tyndenses and the Masinissenses who were provided only with light arms and were led by Mascizel and Dius, brothers of Firmus* (Amm. M., *ibid.*) The ensuing battle was won by Theodosius and prisoners taken (*ibid.,* 12). He also burned an *estate called Petrensis, which its owner, Salmaces, a brother of Firmus, had built up almost to the size of a city.* This success enables Theodosius to seize Lamfoctum, *where he caused an abundance of provisions to be stored* (Amm. M., ibid., 13: Rolfe III p. 255, 13) so that supplies might be available close at hand for further operations. Another attack by Mascizel is repulsed (*ibid.,* 15). In Ammianus' account this induces Firmus to treat for peace by sending *priests of the Christian sect with hostages to beg for peace . . . . and on their promise to furnish the necessities of life for the soldiers . . . they brought back a favorable reply and peace.* (The translation "priests" should be "bishops." Greek and ecclesiastical Latin *antistites* etymologically and by usage means "bishop" exclusively, cf. Niedermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus,* s.v. In spite of the pagan Ammianus' understandable silence these *antistites* were probably Donatists.) In the same context (Amm. M. XXIX 5, 15.16: Rolfe p. 255) Firmus, following the lead of his emissaries meets Theodosius, surrenders some relatives as hostages, as well as the captives taken earlier in the rebellion and the sea-coast town of Icosium (modern Alger). The account of Ammianus then mentions Tipasa

(modern Tefessad or Tipasa) and soon the conquest reaches as far as Caesarea (modern Cherchel). According to Orosius (VII 33, 5) it had been taken and destroyed by Firmus. Ammianus confirms this for (Amm. M. XXIX 5, 18: Rolfe p. 257) *on entering the city and finding it almost wholly burned down from widespread fires . . . he decided to station the first and second legions there for a time . . . to prevent the place from being devastated by a renewed attack of the savages.* Ammianus Marcellinus' account has Theodosius granting immunity to Romanus' second-in-command when this individual, Vincentius (cf. *supra*), issued from hiding and came to Caesarea giving information on the rebel dispositions. On the strength of this Theodosius turned from Caesarea *and came to the municipal town of Sugabarritanum, on the slope of the Transcellian mountain, where he found the horsemen of the fourth cohort of archers, which had gone over to the enemy . . . then he ordered them and a part of the Constantian* (troops formerly disaffected to Julian the Apostate cf. Am. Marc. XXI 11, 2, of uncertain allegiance and, possibly, illpaid) *infantry, with their tribunes . . . to come to Tigaviae.* From modern Zaccar, the aforementioned locality on the slope of the Transcellensian Mount, he returned to Tigaviae as Ammianus' narrative (XXIX 5, 22: Rolfe p. 259) continues and punished the rebels. He *turned over those who had served among the Constantiani to the soldiers, to be slain in the old-fashioned way* (Rolfe: Something like running the gauntlet). *But he had the hands of the leaders of the archers cut off and punished the rest with death.* According to Ammianus it was this treatment of the rebels which supplied Theodosius' detractors with grounds for accusation that led to his death. But Ammianus comments (XXIX 5, 23): . . . *this cohort was harmful, not only in its action, but also in the example it set.* On the same occasion (ibid., 23) he executes a tribune of archers, Curandius, along with Belles and Fericius, whom Gildo had brought. He bore in mind, says Ammianus, *the saying of Cicero: "Wholesome severity is better than a vain show of mercy"* (*ibid.*, 24). The procedure of Theodosius in the next move against the enemy is characterised by the usual energy—and severity. At a place called Gaionatis he *killed all the inhabitants and levelled the walls* (Amm. M. XXIX 5, 25: Rolfe III p. 263). In like fashion, in the advance, the Mazices . . . *as they rushed to escape, were all cut down . . . except those who found a means of escape* (*ibid.*, 26). No doubt, the motive behind this was the intimidation of the enemy far outnumbering his forces. As he moved westward against the Musones (*ibid.*, 27) at a town called Adda by Ammianus (*ibid.*, 28), a levy of hostile tribes is effected by Cyria (sister of Firmus) and realising that the odds were too great—Ammianus says (*ibid.*, 29) *he had under his command only 3,500 armed men—at last he gradually withdrew and made off.* But this success elated the enemy and Theodosius was eventually compelled to fight and would have been killed and his army annihilated, had not the allied Mazices with some Romans marching in their van given the impression that reinforcements for Theodosius were arriving. In the ensuing panic Theodosius makes good his retreat to Tipasa *IN THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY* (373), having previously at an estate called Maxucanus *burned a few deserters alive and mutilated the rest as he had the archers* (cf. *ibid.*, 22 *supra*) *whose hands were cut off* (XXIX 5, 31). In his long halt at Tipasa (favored by Cagnat *op. cit.* 86, 4 instead of Tipata) recourse is had

to persuasion with the surrounding tribes, allies of Firmus, Baiurae, Cantauriani, Avastomates, Cafaves, Bavares, to detach them from their alliance (*ibid.*, 33). The result was the withdrawal of Firmus to the neighboring Caprariensian mountains. With the desertion of his own army the progress of the Roman forces continues and the subjugation of the Caprarienses and their neighbors, the Abanni, is undertaken (*ibid.*, 37) until Theodosius reaches the municipality of Audia (reading favored by Rolfe instead of Auzia) where the report of larger enemy forces including the *Aethiopians who dwelt nearby* slows down operations (*ibid.*, 37). However, he gains the victory over innumerable odds and proceeds to *civitas Contensis* freeing captives of Firmus (39). *And T . . . . severely punished the traitors and attendants of Firmus, as was his custom.* With Firmus within reach Theodosius demanded that the Isaflenses (cf. P-W-K IX 2050) surrender *the traitor as well as his brother Mazuca and the rest of his kinfolk* (40). In the ensuing battle Firmus escapes but his brother Mazuca is taken prisoner (41). When taken to Caesarea on T's orders *he tore open his wound and died. However his head was torn off and to the great joy of all who saw it was brought into the aforesaid city* (42). The "mopping up" campaign against the Isaflenses enabled T. to catch up with *Evasius an important citizen, Florus his son, and some others,* who on conviction of abetting the enemy *were burnt alive* (43). The Iubaleni tribe, *to which he had learned Nubel, the father of Firmus, belonged* was the next object of his attention but the Atlas Mountains, *so well adapted to ambuscades* (44) prompted him to withdraw to Audia, where the *wild race of the Iesalenses voluntarily surrendered, promising to furnish aid and provisions* (44). (On *Audia* or *Castellum Audiense* cf. P-W-K 11 2623). While negotiating with the natives for the betrayal of Nubel (45) it develops that Firmus had returned to the Isaflenses, whose king, Igmazen, after a haughty and provocative answer from T. had recourse to arms. The version of Ammianus (XXIX 5, 46: Rolfe III, p. 275) may well reflect the very words of Theodosius: *I am the general of Valentinian, lord of the world,* he is reported as answering the proud Berber chief's inquiry about his identity, *sent to destroy a murderous robber. Unless you give him up at once . . . you will perish utterly with the race over which you rule* (46). In the battle which followed Ammianus speaks of 20,000 enemy in the van. Firmus tries to play at Theodosius' game of detaching soldiers from their allegiance and surrendering their commander. But Theodosius withdraws to the stronghold, castellum Audiense (Clark's is the correct reading, according to Cagnat, *op. cit.* 89) and rids himself of the uncertain elements in his forces *by various forms of punishment . . . some had their hands cut off, others were burnt alive . . . Then . . . he attacked the Iesalenses . . . believing them to be of doubtful loyalty . . . and so devastated their land that they were reduced to dire need.* On his return to Sitifi *he tortured to the verge of death and then burned alive Castor and Martinianus, as sharers in the robberies of Romanus* (50). Finally, worn out by the bloody war the king of the Isaflenses urges Theodosius to wage more vigorous war against his own people and thus reduce them to a more tractable temper. The result of this vigorous action was the flight of Firmus, who is nevertheless taken prisoner by Igmazen. But on being informed by Masilla, a party to the secret negotiations with Theodosius, Firmus, rather than risk torture at the hands

of Theodosius, committed suicide (Ammianus XXIX 5, 51-54: Rolfe III pp. 277-279). The African campaign of Theodosius is mentioned again by Ammianus in XXX 7, 10 but ascribed to Valentinian in the summation of that Emperor's reign.

Other Sources Mentioning the African Campaign

Pacatus 5, 2 (MGH p. 93, 22)
Claudian, *De III Consulatu Honorii* (VII) 53 ff.
De IV Consulatu Honorii (VIII) 25 ff.
Laus Serenae (carm. min. XXX) 41, 45 ff.
Bellum Gildonicum (XV) 326 ff.

De Bello Gildonico (XV) 325-348

While father and son thus debated in long converse, Theodosius the grandfather made his way to Italy and entered the chaste bedchamber where on his couch of Tyrian purple Honorius lay in sweet sleep by the side of his wife Maria. At his head he stood and thus spake to him in a dream. "What rash confidence is this, dear grandson, that fills the conquered Moors? Does the mad race descended from Juba, the people whom I subdued, once more conspire to oppose Rome's power and recommence the war with its conqueror's grandson? Have they forgotten the defeat of Firmus? Do they think to repossess Libya won back by the sweat of battle? Dares Gildo strive with Rome? Does he not fear his brother's fate. Fain would I go myself, old though I be, and show him the face he knows but too well. Will not the Moor flee my very shade, should he behold it? Why delayest thou? Up from thy bed; attack the rebel; give me back my prisoner; waste no more time. 'Tis fate's gift to thy family. While yet the race of Theodosius treads the earth the palace of Bocchus shall go in fear. Let the spoils of Gildo be added to those of Firmus; let the bays of Mauretania deck chariots twain and one house triumph thus many times over one race. Thanks be to the gods who have interposed so many years between the sacrifice of Firmus to my arms and that of Firmus' brother to those of my grandson." He spake, then fled, as he felt the breath of the approaching dawn.

Orosius VII 33, 5 ff.:

Meanwhile in certain parts of Africa Firmus stirred up the Moorish tribes, made himself King and laid waste Africa and Mauretania. Caesarea, the most important city of Mauretania, was captured by treachery, filled with fire and carnage, and given over to the barbarians for pillage. Thereupon Count Theodosius, the father of the Theodosius who afterwards became emperor, acting on Valentinian's orders, broke the strength of the roaming Moorish tribes in a number of engagements and compelled the discouraged and vanquished Firmus to take his own life. Later, acting with well-trained foresight, he more than restored Africa and Mauretania to their former condition, but without realising it he aroused so much envy that he was condemned to death. Before his execution at Carthage, he resolved TO BE BAPTISED in order to obtain the remission of his sins; having received the sacrament of Christ which he had de-

sired, he offered his throat to the blow of the executioner with the assurance of eternal life to come after his glorious life in this world.

(From *Seven Books of the History against the Pagans, The Apology by Paulus Orosius translated by Irving Woodworth Raymond,* 1926 in *Records of Civilization Series No.* XXVI.)

Symmachus, *Or.* 6, 4 (p. 337, 9 ff in MGH) mentions Flavius Severus (probably) the Praefectus Sitifinsis (cf. P-W-K II A 2005) as Theodosius' adviser in Africa.

Ep. X I (p. 276, 38 ff.): While careful to give due attention to the sovereign the writer of this letter to Theodosius does manage to say: *Thou wert the remedy applied by them* (the emperors) . . . *the praise of the ages is thy palm of victory.*

Rel. 9, 4. 43, 2 (p. 287, 26. 314, 15 ed. Seeck) Here again the Drenovo inscription confirms the foregoing: *mega charma Dardanion kai Mauretanies.* There is no debate about the reading (cf. Egger, *op. cit.,* p. 10) *Mauretanies.* St. Jerome in his chronicle of the year 376 says: *Theodosius, father of the future Emperor Theodosius, and large numbers of distinguished persons were put to death.* To this there is appended the comment of a contemporary (cf. A. Schoene, *op. cit.,* pp. 158 ff.):
Though distinguished for his victories in many wars throughout the world, he died in Africa at the hands of a clique, who themselves were put to death, that is, the clique of Maximinus, the former prefect (*Chronicon a. 2392,* ed. Fotheringham).

DEATH:

In the extant work of Ammianus we do not find any explicit record of the death of Theodosius. However, he hints at it (XXVII 9, 3: Rolfe III p. 57):

The complete series of events in those regions (*Africa*), *the death of the governor Ruricius and his subordinate officers, AND THE OTHER MOURNFUL OCCURRENCES I shall set forth carefully when my plan calls for it.*

And in XXIX 5, 4 he compares his fate to that of Domitius Corbulo and Lusius Quietus in the reigns, respectively, of Nero and Trajan (Hadrian). Nero's envy caused the death of Domitius and Dio Cassius suggests that envy and intrigue killed Quietus (XXVIII 32). The text of Ammianus follows: *He might well be compared with Domitius Corbulo and Lusius of old, of whom the former under Nero, the latter during Trajan's reign, were famed for many brave deeds.*

When Ammianus comes to speak of the treatment of the Constantiani he makes a digression to compare (AND justify) the acts of Theodosius with those of well-known disciplinarians of the olden day, such as Curio, who did the same as Theodosius in Thrace in dealing with the Dardani. Then he goes on, XXIX 5, 23:

BUT MALEVOLENT detractors, while praising that act of the olden time, find fault with this one as cruel and inhuman because the Dardani were merderous enemies . . . . while these, on the contrary, were soldiers under

the flag who had committed one fault . . . *But such folk we remind of what they perhaps do not know, that this cohort was harmful, not only in its action, but also in the example which it set.*

In the account of Orosius there occurs the general expression *instimulante et obrepente invidia* (cf. above, VII, 33, 5ff.) And St. Ambrose in the *De Obitu Theodosii* (i.e. imperatoris) echoes the same opinion:

From his youth Theodosius bore a heavy burden, for his life was exposed to the snares of those, who put his father to death in the hour of triumph (53).

In determining the parties responsible for the injustice some blame falls on Valentinian who according to Ammianus XXX, 9, 1: Rolfe III p. 369:

while he punished even slight offences of the common soldier, suffered the serious offences of his higher commanders to go to excess, OFTEN TURNING A DEAF EAR TO THE COMPLAINTS MADE AGAINST THEM.

Hence it is, in part, that Romanus, among others, escaped punishment even during the lifetime of Valentinian. Furthermore, Valentinian had on his hands the war against the Saramtae and the Quadi in the spring of 375, as Ammianus relates (XXX 5, 1). Only after the death of Valentinian, November 18, 375 (Amm. M. XXX, 6, 6: Rolfe III, p. 351) was the case reopened and court intrigue was laid bare.

In the last year of Valentinian's reign the Frank, Merobaudes, became the all-powerful minister. When the African intrigues of Romanus again came to the fore intimidated Africans were allowed to speak (Amm. M. XXV III 6, 28) of the abuses under Romanus and brought to light the bribing of imperial investigators (XXVIII 6, 27) before the judges Hesperius and Flavianus (XXVIII 6, 28). Eventually, Romanus himself is called to Milan and *being received with favor by MEROBAUDES he had sought that some more witnesses should be produced. When these had come to Milan, and had shown by credible* (*probabilius*) *evidence that they had been brought there to satisfy A GRUDGE, THEY WERE DISCHARGED AND RETURNED TO THEIR HOMES.* (XXVIII 6, 30). The conclusion seems inescapable that Merobaudes, himself had some interest in silencing the witnesses. Could it be that he feared a rival? Löffler (p. 39) does not hesitate to ascribe the death of Theodosius to Merobaudes to whom Gratian "at Brigetio owed his throne and his life." The young, possibly misinformed emperor, simply acquiesced when confronted with "the evidence."

Orosius does not throw much light on the actually responsible parties. He speaks in altogether general terms of "the envious" (VII 33, 7).

St. Jerome a. 2392 mentions Maximinus, the ruler of Gaul, Britain and Spain (MGH AA, *Chron. Min.* I 631, cf. *supra*).

Jordanes, De Summa Temp. 312 (MGH AA 1 p. 40, 11 ff.) says: *"Quando et Theodosius . . . . multique nobilium occisi sunt VALENTIS insania."* From the foregoing Ennslin draws the conclusion that Jordanes simply "confuses Valentinian with Valens." Valentinian, he thinks, must have passed the condemnation

of Theodosius before his death at Brigetio on November 17, 375. He finds it impossible to believe that Gratian would have condemned the father of the very man he wished to put in charge of his armies after the disaster of Adrianople. But could not Gratian have been misinformed? Could not Theodosius the younger realize this and forgive him? Egger (*loc. cit.* 25 f.) does not have any of his difficulties and opines that the order for the execution could and probably did come from Gratian.

Theodosius the Great also affected. The disgrace and execution of the Comes Theodosius involved the future emperor according to: St. Ambrose, *De Obitu Theodosii,* 53, Pacatus 9, 1 f. (MGH 96, 29). Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History* V 5, 1.

REHABILITATION:

At least four equestrian statues are known to us:—According to Symmachus, *Ep.* X 43 a. 384-5 (X 9, p. 387 ed. Seeck) the senate in Rome voted the money for such a statue *Africani et Britannici belli recordatione.*

There is mention of another one in Antioch. Libanius (*Or.* XX 10, p. 657 ed. Forster) alludes to it: *ton hippea ton patera ton emon autoi katenegkontes hosper en hippomachiai trosantes.* (cf. also *Or.* XXII 8 p. 475 ff., *ibid.* and Rauschen, *Jahrb. der christlichen Kirche.,* p. 261)

The third statue is the one raised at Canusium (CIL IX 333, Dessau 780, cf. supra p. 22).

The fourth is the no longer existent one at Stobi for which our Drenovo inscription is warrant. Egger, *op. cit.,* p. 28 (*eikona hippiken* in the last line of the inscription) thinks it very likely that the son, the Emperor Theodosius, was the largest contributor. He examines the most probable date for his presence in Stobi and among several possible ones he pronounces for January 19, 379 when he came there on the occasion of his own elevation to the position of Regent of the Empire at Sirmium. Egger thinks the Emperor Theodosius, famous for his family attachments, all the greater in the case of the father with whom he was so closely associated in his mature years, would have seen to the rehabilitation of the Comes Theodosius' memory with the least possible delay. The impression which the execution at Carthage made on him was deep, as witnessed by his long scruple in signing death sentences (cf. Themistius, *Or.* XV p. 190 B, a. 381 and Seeck, *Geschichte d. Untergangs* V p. 171 and 502).

Holy Cross College JOSEPH M.-F. MARIQUE, S.J.

VALERIAN, BISHOP OF CALAHORRA

José Madoz, S.J.

Some fifty years ago, Dom Germain Morin, that great innovator and gifted explorer of Patristic sources edited a short *Fides* or "profession of faith" in a page of the *Revue Bénédictine*. He had discovered the document in a Parisian manuscript of considerable interest, but whose provenience, for lack of sufficient historical data, remains uncertain. It is the Latin *ms* 2076 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, of the tenth century. Among the several formulas of faith which it contains, one was registered in the chapter-headings at the commencement of the volume as: *VIII. Fides catholica sancti ualeriani episcopi.* This had reference to folio 54, col. 1, where the following text was to be found under a name slightly different from that in the *capitulum*, the difference being due, no doubt, to a copyist's error:

Incipit Fides Sancti Valeri Episcopi

Audi Israel dominus deus tuus deus unus est. Nam cum pater et filius et spiritus sanctus sit, nemo christianus tres deos dicere potest. quia a se in nullo diuina distat natura. numerum siquidem effici equalitas non ammittit. Alter enim primum sequitur, alteri tertius adplicatur. sed cum gradus fieri non possit ex paribus, qui subdi non potest quem ad modum numerat? unus ergo erit, quia non habet secundum. Secundus quippe minoris ordinem tenet, minus alterum facit. Alter posteriorem indicat, posterior imparem signat. Remoue distantiam, et quod numeres non habes. EXPLICIT. AMEN.[1]

Retaining the form *Valerianus* for the name of the author, the learned Benedictine recalled in his research the celebrated writers in the history of the Church who bore the name, such as Valerian of Aquileia, and another of Cimiez, but without finding sufficient grounds upon which to attribute the quotation to one rather than the other. The only one that seemed capable of retaining his attention was a *Valerianus Calagoritanae urbis episcopus*, who rated one of the paragraphs added to Jerome's *De viris inlustribus* by an unknown scribe in the Middle Ages:

[1] Edited by E. C. Richardson in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, XIV, p. 56.

Cap. CXXXVI. Valerianus, Calagoritannae urbis episcopus, vir admodum disertissimus, non multa scripsit, quodque praecipuum religionis insigne est, fidem catholicam singulariter ei indicavit.

Can there not be some allusion to the *Fides catholica sancti Valeriani episcopi* in the singular literary activity here ascribed to Valerian, Bishop of Calahorra? However, the expert Patrologist, with his usual caution, did not attempt a definitive judgment: the origin of the piece was so uncertain, and by the same token the authority of the medieval notice was simply insufficient. Again, the list of bishops of Calahorra only commences with a definite personality in the second half of the fifth century, and there is no evidence of any of its bishops having borne the name Valerian.[2]

However, this Valerian was bishop of Calahorra at the beginning of the fifth century: his credentials are sufficiently attested in history; and today, the documentation is fully recognized by the historian and critic. Actually, although the name of the continuator of Jerome's Catalogue of Writers is still unknown, this is not sufficient reason to deny all worth to his testimony. He was, beyond all doubt, as A. Feder [3] has recently testified, a Spaniard, and most probably one in close relationship with Calahorra. To him are ascribed two additions: the one concerning Valerian, and a second immediately following, on the poet Prudentius. There is nothing opposed to the veracity of this testimony which contains, no doubt, a tradition, or depends on a written source unknown to us. The data on Prudentius, known to us likewise through a different source, agrees thoroughly with already known facts. Besides, the authority of the codices containing it gives it incontestable value; and, finally, its correspondence with certain facts ascertainable from the *Hymns* of Prudentius serves to render this position definitive.

These brief biographical notices have been added to the

[2] Cf. G. Morin, "La Fides sancti Valeriani du ms. Paris lat. 2076. Notes d'ancienne littérature chrétienne," in *Rev. Bénéd.* 15 (1898), 102-103: "Mais la provenance et par suite l'autorité de ce renseignement sont tout à fait incertaines. Le nom même de Valérien ne figure nulle part sur la liste des évêques de Calahorra, laquelle d'ailleurs ne commence qu'avec un personnage de la seconde moitié du v[e] siècle."

[3] A. Feder, *Studien zum Schriftstellerkatalog des heiligen Hieronymus* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1927), 4: Die Zusatzkapitel über Valerianus und Prudentius, pp. 160-161.

Corpus of St. Jerome's *De viris inlustribus* after those of Gennadius, St. Isidore of Seville, and St. Ildephonsus of Toledo. They are located, in accordance with proper chronological order, as an appendix to Jerome's series beginning with that of his successor Gennadius. They are to be found not only in the *Albeldensis* (of the years 958-976) and the *Aemilianensis* (of 976-994)—codices to whose value Perez Bayer [4] and P. Alamo [5] have added their testimony, in their attempt to clarify the fatherland of Prudentius,—but they are also contained in the *ms. Samuélico,* no. 22, of the Cathedral archives of León, which belongs to the ninth century; in that of Paris, 1688, of the twelfth century; in the Vatican *Barberinus* 550, twelfth century; in the Florentian *Laurentinus* plut. 22, dextr. doc. 12, thirteenth century; in the Milanese *Ambrosianus* I, sup. 51 of the fifteenth century; in the British Museum *Harleianus* 4923, of the fifteenth century; in the Vatican *Ottoboniensis* 849, of the fifteenth-seventeenth century.

This paleographic evidence was of such weight for J. Feder in the chapter having to do with Prudentius that he definitely located the birthplace of the poet in Calahorra, setting aside the older opinion which placed it in Saragossa.[6]

As we have stated, the testimony of the codices receives vigorous confirmatory support from the historical data contained in the *Hymns* of Prudentius. Thus, the "Valeriane sacer" addressed in Hymn XI of the *Peristephanon* (verse 2),[7] the bishop called in verse 179 "venerande sacerdos" out of the poet's singular devotion, and the "optime papa" of verse 127, all seem to have direct reference to the poet's own pastor. On his return from the Eternal City, the bard of the martyrs and of the catacombs demonstrates his delight at his homecoming, and his being able to embrace his own bishop once more:

> Oravi quoties status, opem merui
> Quod laetor reditu, quod te, venerande sacerdos
> Complecti licitum est (vv. 178-180).

[4] Nicolas Antonio, *Biblioth. hispana vetus,* t. I (Madrid, 1788), pp. 221-222.

[5] M. Alamo, "Un texte du poète Prudence Ad Valerianum episcopum (Peristeph., hymn. XI)," in *Rev. Hist. ecclés.* 35 (1939), 753-754.

[6] "Danach wurde die übliche Ansicht, der Heimatsort des Prudentius sei Saragossa gewesen, fortan aufzugeben sein," *art. cit.,* p. 160.

[7] Edited by F. Arevalo, PL 60, 530-556; G. Bergman, in CSEL, t. 61 (Vienna, 1926), pp. 199-216.

His filial confidence later rises to such a pitch that he asks him to introduce into his church, along with the feasts of St. Cyprian and St. Celedonius—the patron of Calahorra—and St. Eulalia, that of St. Hippolytus, as a new protector:

> Inter solemnes Cypriani, vel Celedoni
> Eulaliaeque dies curat et iste tibi;
> sic te pro populo, cuius tibi credita vita est,
> Orantem Christus audiat omnipotens.
> Sic tibi de pleno lupus excludatur ovili (vv. 237-241).

He returns jubilantly and securely enters among the sheep of his flock:

> Agna nec ulla tuum capta gregem minuat;
> Sic me gramineo remanentem denique campo
> Sedulus aegrotam pastor ovem referas (vv. 242-244).

Thus it appears that this Hymn, as P. Alamo has well observed, was composed in Valerian's own city, while the affectionate fervor of the poet [Prudentius] upon his return to his own land was still intense.[8]

That it is Calahorra that is definitely meant here, and not Saragossa, seem undeniable; there is no Saragossan saint mentioned to compare with the explicit mention of Celedonius for Calahorra. Nicholas Antonio[9] is right when he suggests that if Saragossa were the city intended here, the names of Vincent, of Engracia, and of the Eighteen Martyrs would certainly not have been passed over, since they are so often celebrated by the poet in other passages as the symbols of Saragossan glory.

Listening to the poet's lyre in other Hymns, we can detect the same singularly warm and affectionate sound that he employs when he speaks of Calahorra. The very commencement of the *Peristephanon* opens with a Hymn to the martyr patrons of this city, Emeterius and Celedonius, whose precious monument consecrates "our city":

> Hoc bonum saluator ipse, quo fruamur, praestitit,
> Martyrum cum membra nostro consecrauit oppido,
> sospitant quae nunc colonos, quosue Hiberas alluit (vv. 115-117).

[8] *Art. cit.*, p. 751.
[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

In like manner, the colophon of this series of Hymns in honor of the Spanish martyrs, aimed again at Calahorra, indicates the local situation so precisely, that it betrays the author as one who knows the place *de visu*:

De loco, in quo martyres passi sunt, nunc baptisterium est Calagorri.[10]

Although the last word in this line does not appear in Arevalo's edition, it is attested by the Vatican A, the Oxford and other manuscripts and has been restored as a certain emendation in the excellent Vienna edition of Bergmann.

Besides, in the very verses in which the poet celebrates the martyrs of Saragossa—the city which alone might dispute the claim of Calahorra—there are underlying indications which unexpectedly betray his intimate relation to Calahorra and the Basque country. In Hymn IV, dedicated to the Eighteen Saragossan Martyrs, the epithet "our" is used with affection solely in reference to Calahorra, although a number of Spanish cities are mentioned there, and paraded triumphantly as a sort of spiritual ornament which goes out to meet the Lord, exhibiting the purple treasures of their martyrs in little golden baskets:

Corduba Acisclum dabit et Zoellum
tresque coronas.
Tu tribus gemmis diadema pulchrum
offeres Christo, genetrix piorum
Tarraco, intexit cui Fructuosus
sutile uinclum. . . .
Parua Felicis decus exhibebit
artubus sanctis locuples Gerunda,
nostra gestabit Calagurris ambos
quos veneramur. . . .
Tu decem sanctos reuehes et octo,
Caeraugusta studiosa Christo,
uerticem flauis oleis reuincta,
pacis honore. . . . (vv. 19-56).[11]

Finally Hymn II in honor of the martyr St. Lawrence contains this precise topographical reference, which in the opinion of all

[10] Hymn. VIII, ed. Bergman, p. 365.

[11] The use of this epithet "noster" by Prudentius in other passages in reference to other cities or towns of Spain has not the same intimate and personal sentiment, nor does it result in the same contrasts which we have found when it refers to Calahorra: Cfr. Hymn. II, vv. 1-3; 93-100, etc.

is the strongest argument supporting the case for those in favor of Calahorra:

> Nos Vasco Hiberus diuidit
> binis remotus Alpibus
> trans Cottianorum iuga
> trans et Pyrenas ninguidos (vv. 537-540).

The combination "Nos Vasco Hiberus" in this stanza is indelibly stamped with Prudentius' closeness to Calahorra.

In conclusion, against the opinion of Ruinart who in 1683 [12] identified this bishop Valerianus with the Saragossan Bishop Valerius who assisted at the Council of Saragossa in 380 dealing with the Priscillianists, modern criticism has reacted, fixing on the existence of a Bishop Valerian in Calahorra at the beginning of the fifth century. The testimony of accredited medieval manuscripts ingenuously traces his brief Calahorran biography, together with that of the poet Prudentius. What is here recorded of the bishop's native origin concurs most conveniently with the historical data contributed by Prudentius regarding his bishop, Valerian of Calahorra. The poet recalls the famous baptistery of the bishop's church. He interests himself in the bishop's calendar as his own. He desires upon his return from Rome to receive the welcoming embrace of his own bishop, and to feel secure from the wolf's attack.

Nicolas Antonio was correct in rejecting Ruinart's opinion, and in being the first to connect Valerian's name with the See of Calahorra. Likewise, his annotator, Perez Bayer, gave further strength to this position with the testimony of the *Albeldensis* and *Aemilianensis* [13] codices.

In passing, it is proper to state that Father Alamo's fear is vain, lest the attestation of these manuscripts be questioned on the ground of patriotic partiality, since they come from the borders of the region to which they refer.[14] But older even than the aforementioned is the venerable manuscript *Samuélico,* number 22 in the archives of the León Cathedral. This manuscript does not come from this region. It is from Cordoba, as may be seen from its characteristic inscriptions: *ex Spania veni.*[15] Most likely, it

[12] *Acta martyrum sincera* (Amsterdam, 1713), p. 170.
[13] *Op. cit.,* pp. 219-222.
[14] *Art. cit.,* p. 754.
[15] Cf. the brief description of this codex given by J. Madoz, in *Epistolario de San Braulio de Zaragoza* (Madrid, 1941), p. 25 ff.

will be necessary to push the dating of these biographical notices back to the seventh century, for it was in this period that the list of the *Nomina virorum* of the codices was drawn up.

In view of these facts, the evidence proposed in support of the identification of Valerian with Valerius of Saragossa is entirely without value. In the first place, the names are not identical. Nor is it certain that Valerius was Bishop of Saragossa, for at the Council of Saragossa in 380 mention was not made of the names of the churches to which the bishops who signed belonged.[16] It was Garcia de Loaysa alone who favored this ascription, going counter to chronological probability and mot vated by the erroneous belief that the Valerius of the year 38C was the same *Valerius episcopus Cesaraugustanus* who attended the Council of Elvira earlier in that century. Likewise without foundation is the supporting evidence that some pretend to find in Prudentius' allusion to a priestly family of Valerii [17] in Saragossa.

This is the place to correct the opinions of Risco,[18] Garcia Villada,[19] and L. Riber,[20] who identify Valerian's see with Saragossa. Valerian was the bishop of Calahorra when Prudentius returned from Rome to his own land, composed Hymn XI of his *Peristephanon* in honor of St. Hippolytus and commenced the revision of his works around the year 405.

At the conclusion of the article in which he uses Prudentius' references to Valerian as the principal argument for determining that poet's country, Father Alamo [21] expressed a wish to see the literary merits which brought about the listing of Bishop Valerian in the *Catalogo de los Varones ilustres* justified.

In our opinion, a brief but significant specimen indicative of a much greater patrimony is to be found in the *Fides sancti Valeriani episcopi* of the Paris manuscript, Lat. 2076.

[16] Cf. *Collectio Hispana,* in PL 84, col. 515-518; H. T. Bruns, *Canones Apostolorum et conciliorum saeculorum* IV. V. VI. VII (Berlin, 1839), II, p. 13.

[17] Hymn. IV, vv. 77-80.

[18] *España Sagrada,* t. 31 (Madrid, 1889), pp. 92-109.

[19] *Historia eclesiastica de España,* t. I, 2 parte (Madrid, 1929), pp. 158-201.

[20] *Aurelio Prudencio* (Barcelona, 1936), pp. 137-145.

[21] *Art. cit.,* p. 756: "Il resterait à établir les mérites littéraires de Valerianus, qui lui ont valu d'être cité parmi les viri illustres."

Oña, Facultad de Teologia.

THE DAUGHTERS OF ST. PAUL

In Massachusetts
50 St. Paul's Ave.
Jamaica Plain
BOSTON 30, MASS.
172 Tremont St.
BOSTON 11, MASS.
381 Dorchester St.
SO. BOSTON 27, MASS.
325 Main St.
FITCHBURG, MASS.

In New York
78 Fort Place
STATEN ISLAND 1, N.Y.
39 Erie St.
BUFFALO 2, N.Y.

In Connecticut
202 Fairfield Ave.
BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

In Ohio
141 West Rayen Ave.
YOUNGSTOWN 3, OHIO

In Texas
114 East Main Plaza
SAN ANTONIO 5, TEXAS

In California
827 Fifth Ave.
SAN DIEGO 1, CALIF.

In Louisiana
86 Bolton Ave.
ALEXANDRIA, LA.

In Florida
2700 Biscayne Blvd.
MIAMI 37, FLORIDA

In Canada
33 W. Notre Dame
MONTREAL, CANADA
1063 St. Clair Ave. West
TORONTO, CANADA

In England
29 Beauchamp Place
LONDON, S.W. 3, ENG.

In India
Water Field Road—Extension
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